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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Care for the Trees and Save the Forest

CREATING an aggressive, positive public opinion in the United States is a sudden, almost automatic process—when a common cause and plenty of facts about it create widespread discussion. Today's comparative unanimity on foreign affairs provides a striking contrast with the confusion and indifference of only a few months ago.

Nearly everyone has jumped on the band wagon of "making democracy work," a descriptive slogan originally put forward to help rescue local government from the destructive forces which made (and in many places still make) a mockery of the self-governing process.

Scores of individuals and organizations are vigorously promoting, as a primary need, free and full discussion of important public problems, but almost without exception they start and stop with national and international affairs. Each question must be superlatively and obviously big.

So most of the vital local issues are crowded off page one and are lucky to have a few inches in the last pages of the newspapers. The affairs of a community of, for example, 70,000 which spends five and a half million a year do seem rather picayune beside the billions for national government operation plus more billions for defense; but the cost of running the thousands of local governments, in

the aggregate, goes up into pretty fancy figures, too. And that's one of the least important aspects of the picture. A more urgent consideration is the fact that each community is a link in the national chain; therefore, even an occasional weak or rotten link is something to be concerned about.

The basic importance of local government was emphasized from many angles at the recent National Conference on Government at Springfield, Massachusetts—the forty-sixth such conference sponsored by the National Municipal League each year since 1894. At sixteen general and group sessions several score men and women, who were well qualified by experience and accomplishment, spoke and led discussions on problems of civil service, local finance, voting, defense, citizen organization and action, decentralization of cities, and the process of American self-government generally. Several of the addresses at the conference are published as articles in this issue of the REVIEW.

The war will come to an end. The fight to make democracy work by making it capable of doing its job effectively, honestly, and efficiently will go on. So, while doing our bit in the world crisis, it will be eminently appropriate and wise to bear in mind that democracy grows from the bottom; it isn't fed down from the

top as in a totalitarian system. We will do well, if we wish to save the forest, to take good care of the individual tree.

"Astounding" Progress in Milwaukee

AT THE year's end, Mayor Carl F. Zeidler issued a report to the people of Milwaukee which, in part, said:

"In passing over the threshold of another year and looking back over the panorama of achievements since I was inducted into the office of mayor on that memorable day of April 16, 1940, I am virtually astounded at the scope of work performed in so short a time."

This statement will leave many close observers of governmental progress not only astounded but mystified. It will recall, for example, that many were surprised—yes, astounded—when the voters of Milwaukee turned down the veteran Daniel W. Hoan, who had been at the helm during the many years Milwaukee was winning an enviable reputation as a well governed city.

But most people were inclined to give the newcomer credit for being an earnest, forthright young man who was eager to do a good job. Now they discover he is "astounded." Perhaps it was just an unfortunate choice of words. If, as his report indicates, he assumes credit personally for what has been accomplished, the word makes him sound all too

modest. If, on the other hand, he is discovering only now that his city has a long-time plan of operation and many capable people working for it, he needs to catch up with common knowledge.

After all, no one believes Milwaukee's health record, lowering tax rate, and steadily decreasing debt—matters to which the mayor points with especial pride—were or could be the work of the last eight months. It doesn't happen that way. Such accomplishments are cumulative. The pattern was set years ago.

Dan Hoan used to be proud enough of Milwaukee's progress, but no one remembers his ever being "astounded." Progress was planned and expected. Indeed, many recall how he worried over the city's archaic basic set-up and the fact that it was necessary to keep running to the state capitol to wangle from a suspicious legislature new laws applying only to cities "of over 100,000 population." He felt Milwaukee would function better with a home rule charter which would provide a professional chief administrator and which would make the mayor frankly the leader of political thought and action.

Minnesota Points the Way

*State's executive lists principles
for solution of the many problems
which beset the democratic process.*

By HAROLD E. STASSEN
Governor of Minnesota

ON THIS occasion of your forty-sixth annual conference, I commend you men and women of the National Municipal League for the contribution you have made to progress in municipal government through the years.

The tragic events in other parts of the world, bringing war with all its horrors to millions of our fellow men, might seem to dwarf the significance of the work you have been doing and that upon which you might now set forth. In some respects this is true. The building of the means of national defense and our relationship to this tragic conflict are overshadowing problems. But in other respects, these very events re-emphasize the importance of the work that you are doing.

The challenge to democratic government to demonstrate that it can meet changing social and economic conditions and still retain the liberties of the individual man and woman never stood out more sharply than it does today. We are facing a continuous testing of our ability to develop the mechanics of democracy to meet emergencies of all types and yet keep the individual citizen as the sovereign of the land.

We must have a faith that the democratic way of life can be both humanitarian and efficient; that it can be composed of a great mass of

citizens who are both free and yet thoroughly coördinated; that it can meet the needs of its people and yet maintain a sound, financial basis; that it can prevent abuses that develop without destroying individual initiative. In each of these respects the local and municipal governments play an important part.

In surveying the new problems that arise and in reappraising the present methods of meeting some of our older problems, we should set forth these general principles to guide us in our approach to the problems if we would seek the mechanics by which we can be both efficient and free.

We must recognize the need for constant change and reappraisal in the functioning of government in keeping with the changes taking place in all phases of social and economic life. But in stepping forward to meet new problems, the first premise should be, "What is the least power that government must take to meet the problems?" And conversely, we must avoid using the problem as an excuse for government to take over greatly expanded powers.

Secondly, that power that it is necessary to take should reside at as low a level of government as will make for efficiency.

Third, those powers that are taken over should be divided between legislative, executive, and judicial func-

tions to preserve the essential balancing of governmental powers.

Fourth, executive powers should be organized with businesslike efficiency and streamlined with clear, rapid functioning lines of executive responsibility.

Personnel for all functions should be selected with a maximum consideration of merit and a minimum consideration of political spoils.

Fifth, long range planning should be a definite continuing function of all levels of government.

Sixth, keeping the citizenry informed and understanding the problems and actions of government should be a constant companion to the actual decisions and functioning of government itself.

MINNESOTA'S EXPERIMENT

Perhaps the best way to illustrate and enlarge upon the meaning and application of these principles is to discuss briefly with you some of the steps we have made in Minnesota in accordance with these basic principles or concepts of modern democratic government.

Two years ago the people of Minnesota placed in office an administration and a very decisive majority of both houses of the legislature which had presented to them a new program for the state government. Through unusual coöperation of all elected officials of the administration and through the active assistance and working together of both houses of the legislature, this program was placed in effect. It was in keeping with the principles that have been set forth above.

Part of this program was a sweeping reorganization in the state government, consolidating many different boards, bureaus, and agencies and greatly simplifying the governmental structure.

As a principal feature of this reorganization, in order to provide for more efficient and rapid functioning of the executive department of the state government, a state business manager was provided for, with the powers that the name implies.

Under his direction there was centralized and coördinated all state purchasing, all budgeting procedure, with a quarterly allotment system including power to reduce allotments if anticipated revenues did not meet anticipated expenditures; control of all state properties, buildings, and equipment; and wide powers of supervision, study, and direction over what might be termed the financial and business side of all state departmental activities.

It is clear that, in less than two years, this new office of state business manager, conducted as it is by a young man particularly trained in governmental research—and incidentally with a background of municipal governmental research—has made a tremendous improvement in the general coördination and functioning of the executive side of the government, has saved millions of dollars, and has been a large factor in changing a financial situation that was shot through with deficits to a government that is now running on a completely balanced budget.

In other fields of government activity boards and commissions of

three members, which held a mixture of powers and duties that were legislative, executive, and judicial, and were properly performing none, were abolished. In their place clear-cut executive departments under the direction of single commissioners were established, with provision for semi-judicial appeals to separate appellate boards.

TAX REORGANIZATION

One example of this is in the tax department where an old tax commission, acting as rule maker, investigator, witness, administrator, judge, and appellate tribunal, was abolished and a single commissioner of taxation appointed, with not only the old tax commission's executive powers, but also the executive power of other scattered taxation units. A Board of Tax Appeals, entirely separately conducted, is provided for with simple appellate procedure. The new department has greatly reduced the overhead cost of executive tax collecting functions, while at the same time the taxpayer has a definite feeling of a fair day in court with opportunity of review through the Board of Tax Appeals.

The whole welfare, aid, relief, and assistance programs were likewise taken out of various commissions and placed in a clear-cut department under a single commissioner, with resultant saving of a half million dollars in overhead, while maintaining high standards of all types of aid, and granting increasing local administration and authority, with only broad policy supervision and strict

accounting review maintained by the state government.

Requirement for large biennial appropriations for welfare and aid programs, which have a tendency to turn over legislative powers to the executive if they are conducted through large blank check appropriations, was met through creation of a new device. We established a legislative emergency committee, consisting of the chairmen of the taxation and of the appropriations committees in the two houses of the legislature, who together with the governor comprise a committee of five with complete continuing jurisdiction over allocation of welfare appropriations.

Working under this committee, the commissioner of social welfare prepares the formulas of the respective needs and financial ability of the counties of the state, and upon these formulas, and reports and public hearings, this legislative emergency committee divides throughout the biennium the funds placed in their care. It also meets emergencies that arise through the use of emergency and contingent funds placed under its jurisdiction.

This committee has functioned well as it not only prevents a rather natural and proper reluctance on the part of the legislature to place large unallocated funds in the hands of the executive department, but also gives to the key chairmen of the legislature an unusual understanding of the needs and of the functions of the entire welfare and assistance program in the state.

In approaching the problem of labor relations and the tragic loss oc-

curing through lockouts and strikes, we have applied the same principles and embarked upon a new experiment. The government took the least power possible and placed this power in a simple executive department. Instead of establishing a board with powers of decision, we established a state labor conciliator, and then provided that before any strike or lockout could occur within the state, this labor conciliator must be given ten days written notice. During this waiting or cooling-off period he has the power and the duty to summon both sides to conference and endeavor to work out around the table voluntary peaceful agreements before any strike or lockout or stoppage of work occurs.

This law relies for enforcement primarily upon support of public opinion; secondarily, practices set forth can be enforced through regular court procedures. It has been largely responsible for reduction of loss in Minnesota through strikes and lockouts to approximately one-fifth of its former amount—at the same time that national loss has been increasing.

A complete civil service system has been installed, placing all state employees, except for policy-making commissioners and elected officials, under a strict civil service procedure.

INFORMING THE PUBLIC

We have maintained a constant policy of reporting to the people problems that arise and the steps that are being taken to meet them. We are now approaching another session of our legislature with the intention of further extending the

application of these principles. The voters on November 5 decisively re-elected every public official who played any part in the new program and also returned a strong majority of the legislature.

We have been engaged in a continuous study of our problems and have enlisted the assistance of the American Public Welfare Association and of our Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research for further special studies.

This report is presented in the hope that our experiments may stimulate new thoughts, new studies, and new approaches to the complex, ever-changing, and ever-multiplying problems in modern democratic government.

I hope that, as new functions of government arise either through the national defense program or otherwise, you take the approach that government should take unto itself the least power that is necessary to meet problems efficiently and that such power should be left with local units of government whenever it can be done efficiently; that at the same time you seek the right to locally administer problems when it can properly be done, be willing to closely cooperate and coordinate with governments on other levels, welcome general supervision where policies must be wide in scope, and accept strict auditing review of activities.

In local governments as well as other governments, we must avoid autocratic and unfair tendencies by keeping functions that are executive, legislative, and judicial separated.

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Young Men in Action

Members of local Junior Chambers of Commerce alert to necessity for informed, active citizenry in their communities.

By MARK MATTHEWS

President, United States Junior Chamber of Commerce

TWENTY years ago there was no medium through which the young men of the nation could make their voices heard and they were compelled to take a back seat. Individually, young men had little to say in the affairs of their community, state, and nation, and could be of little help. Today, through the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce, the collective voice of 120,000 young men in a thousand communities is being heard.

Many who have heard the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce referred to for its outstanding program in many lines of civic endeavor may wonder what connection this organization has with good government. It is true that our primary function has been to improve our communities through civic projects, but our members, in seeking to better understand the problems of their communities, have become actively interested in their local governments.

Just a short time ago every member of this organization registered for the selective service, as the age limits of twenty-one to thirty-five provided for in the conscription law are the exact age limits covered by Junior Chambers of Commerce. Some may wonder why young men of draft age should devote part of their time to community betterment. The young men of the nation have indicated

their willingness to make personal sacrifices in the establishment of an adequate national defense, but they are also vitally concerned with the maintenance of our democratic form of government. Never before in history has our nation been in greater need of the intelligent interest of young men in community problems.

Although these problems may seem unimportant in contrast to the immediate, vital issue of preparedness, for that very reason they should be emphasized; history has shown that in time of war or threat of war democratic peoples must be particularly on the alert to protect their rights. After all, it wasn't outside aggression which enslaved some European nations—their liberties were lost because democracy wasn't working in those countries.

General Petain told France by radio she had lost because "she had too few friends, too few young men, and too few guns" and because she had wasted the victory years since 1914-18.

"Today," he said, "France is a witness to sad days. We will learn our lesson from the lost battle. Since our victory [of 1918] our sense of enjoyment has predominated over our sense of sacrifice."

General Petain's reference to France's need for young men, coming from a man in his eighties, is

particularly significant. Young, active leadership is needed at this particular time. History has shown that in times of crisis nations have turned to their young men and today this nation is asking her young men to assist in making democracy work.

APATHETIC CITIZEN A MENACE

Perhaps Petain was thinking of the fifth column when he said that France "had too few friends." We have a fifth column in this country. It may include some foreign agitators, it may include spies and traitors, but the fifth column that can do more to destroy the American way of life is not composed of these dangerous elements—it is composed of the so-called good citizens, who, through smugness and complacency, apathy or selfishness, refuse to face facts, refuse to accept community responsibility, refuse to be alarmed by the forces which are undermining our democracy, and who believe that all our problems can be settled by enacting a law and writing a check.

We have heard a great deal about democracy recently and leaders of both major parties have urged the voters to support their respective candidates to save our American way of life. In the intense rivalry and bitterness of a national campaign many of us forget that our local problems and our local governments affect us just as vitally as state and national governments.

The young men of the nation, through the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce, have recognized that the basis of American civilization is in her grass roots and

they have worked for the future of democracy and the building of a better nation by building better component communities in the nation.

Our organization, in dedicating itself to the task of making democracy work, has not held any meetings to discuss the meaning of the word "democracy," nor has it participated in any political debates as to what particular party is best able to maintain our democratic institutions, but, realizing that local government is the foundation of our democratic form of government and that if this foundation is not sound democracy must fail, members have taken an active interest in local governmental problems.

During the past four months I have travelled over 25,000 miles and I have had the privilege of speaking to thousands of young men. I have been astounded at the important role the young men of this nation are assuming in furthering our nation's welfare. Young men have been chosen for leadership in every section of the country and they are continuing their unselfish attitude in public life.

One could give no better example than Minnesota, where the part that young men are playing in solving that state's problems was referred to as "Minnesota's miracle" in a recent issue of *Reader's Digest*.¹ The following quotation from an editorial which recently appeared in a Minnesota paper is significant:

In Junior Chamber of Commerce
members Minnesota especially

¹July 1940.

stakes much of its future hopes, for the Gopher State is paralleled by few among the forty-eight in the strength of the Jaycee movement.

A glance at the last state election shows to what high positions of government Minnesota Jaycees have already risen. The governor, lieutenant governor, speaker of the house, and many of the state legislators are prominent members of their respective Junior Chamber units.

Young men from twenty-one to thirty-five, affiliated with the fifty-one Minnesota chapters, are men with ideas and the enthusiasm and ability to galvanize into action and give birth to these ideas.

Governor Harold Stassen's record as an enemy of corruption and extravagance is typical of the type of young leadership which the nation has been privileged to observe. We have seen the collection of millions of dollars in back taxes in cities where the whole municipal machine was crippled to a standstill, destruction of corrupt political machines, defeat of unsound legislation, and hundreds of other activities which required the energy and enthusiasm of young men.

INTERESTED IN MANAGER PLAN

It is interesting to note that although the United States Junior Chamber has never advocated any particular form of local government, Junior Chambers in nearly twenty states are actively interested in the city manager form of government.

Failure of the average voter to realize that local politics are more important to him than national politics has enabled corrupt political machines to control local governments in hundreds of communities

and has resulted in waste, graft, and the filling of public office with incompetents. It has been frequently stated that a corrupt local political machine cannot exist where the young men in the community take an active interest in their government. Here are a few examples.

A short time ago I visited a town in Alabama where the local political machine was supported by vice and racketeering and whose corruption was publicized in a national magazine. The young men in the community through their Junior Chamber of Commerce have elected their own mayor and are now attempting to secure indictments of some of their local officials.

In one of the largest cities in Florida election corruption and other community evils were public scandals. The business leaders of the community knew of the conditions and deplored them but felt they could not afford to stand up on the firing line to act as targets for powerful and corrupt political forces. The Junior Chamber took the leadership and went to battle against the entrenched and arrogant public enemies and today honest elections prevail in this city and disreputable gambling has been controlled.

These examples are typical and Junior Chambers in many cities have been successful in eliminating corruption in government.

Many of the political machines have been successful because of the failure of the voters to exercise their voting privileges. In carrying out our basic public affairs policy to make democracy work by encouraging in-

dividual expression by the constituents in the democracy and unified action by the factors within the democracy, our local organizations carry on get-out-the-vote campaigns on a nonpartisan basis in hundreds of communities. It is interesting to note that in many cities these campaigns have resulted in record registrations and increases in the vote as great as 85 per cent over previous elections. To make sure that these votes are properly counted the Junior Chambers have been responsible for having voting machines installed in many of these communities.

By such campaigns Junior Chambers have been able to prevent the building up of political machines which thrive on small registrations and have been able to counteract pressure groups. Incidentally, there are also cases where Junior Chamber campaigns, carried out under the general slogan, "Vote as you please, but vote," have resulted in defeat of unsound legislation, both local and state.

GOOD GOVERNMENT PRESSURE GROUP

As assistant corporation counsel for the City of New York in charge of legislation, it was my privilege to act as legislative representative of the city in the New York State legislature where I saw at first hand many of the dangers which are inherent in our democratic form of government. Government is becoming more and more a government by pressure groups, who think and act only in terms of their selfish ends. Too many groups think of America as a great big grab-bag instead of a

treasure chest in which to hold the things they value most dearly, and these groups have become one of the greatest threats to our democracy. The Junior Chamber of Commerce is a pressure group for good government. Its entire program is concerned with the general welfare and its refusal to take an active part in partisan politics has greatly increased its prestige and effectiveness when opportunity to act on governmental issues does arise.

One could go on at length relating what young men, through Junior Chambers of Commerce, are doing in the field of civil service, surveys of municipal finance, public education, taxation, and many other fields. High minded; yes, high minded; but there will never be any permanent solution of our problems until more and more individuals become high minded. Intelligence and knowledge are not enough, nor will laws solve our problems. You can't legislate goodness or enthusiasm for good government. What we need are more of the type of men who acknowledge and who are paying a debt of gratitude to the country which provides them with homes and the privileges of citizenship—men whose hands are outstretched to give and not to grab, and who are willing to make any sacrifices necessary to the maintenance of our democratic form of government.

Never before in the history of this nation have we been faced with a more serious or more challenging situation, or one that is a greater test of our strength and solidarity. As

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New Frontiers

Unless democracy can be made to function at the grass roots it cannot be preserved for the nation.

By H. B. WELLS
President, Indiana University

IN THE past few years we have awakened to the fact that, however completely the physical frontiers of the United States may have disappeared, there are new frontiers in the social, cultural, economic, and political development of the nation. In the fields of political and social science alone there are problems of unemployment, preparedness, public finance, and social security—to mention only a few—which must be explored more fully and for which solutions must be developed.

These and other frontiers of democracy create an opportunity for all the pioneers and all the intelligence which this nation can produce. It is important that we keep this opportunity constantly before us. The dominant feature of the past century was the exploration and settlement of the physical frontier. I predict that when the history of the present century is recorded the development of these new frontiers will likewise be regarded as its dominant feature.

One of the frontiers most closely related to the future welfare of democratic institutions is that of citizen participation in public affairs. Unless a citizenship can be built which will discipline itself to prepare for action and then will act aggressively and intelligently, the institutions of government which have been passed on to us by our forefathers

cannot be preserved for use by the generations which are to come.

We are well aware of the importance of participation. Many of us are trying to do something about it. In that sense we are pioneers. With high hopes we are making our various attempts to solve specific problems of participation so that the political effectiveness of citizens generally can be increased and the survival of our institutions can be assured.

The complete record of what has been attempted would be long. May I therefore indicate a few of the things which Indiana University has been doing, as more or less typical examples of activities carried out in different parts of the country to increase citizen participation.

We have coöperated with organizations such as the League of Women Voters, women's clubs, and luncheon clubs in the development of citizenship programs. This coöperation has taken the form of furnishing speakers, program materials, bibliographies, etc.

In coöperation with the United States Department of Education we have developed forums in some fifteen cities, for the most part concerned with citizenship problems.

The Institute of Politics on the campus, which works with the National Municipal League, has used many devices in attempting to stimulate greater citizenship participation

in our state. One such device has been the use of radio programs dealing with important governmental topics.

We have an active package library service which contains magazine and pamphlet materials on such subjects as citizenship, government, the merit plan, Americanism, patriotism, civil liberties, civic responsibility, community coöperation, and industrial democracy.

The extension division has developed a large library of audio-visual aides for civic education in the form of sound films, technicolor sound films, silent films, slides, and display materials.

CONFERENCE ON SELF-GOVERNMENT

We are carrying on not only these but many other projects. Nevertheless, we have felt that the program is inadequate and for that reason welcomed an opportunity to be host to the Conference on American Self-Government held on the campus last May.

This was a coöperative enterprise in which more than one hundred persons took part, representing institutions of higher education from coast to coast and nation-wide citizens organizations of many different kinds and convictions. Our part in that conference was simply that of a catalytic agent, acting to bring together various groups and interests.

The theory behind the conference was this: if representatives of citizens organizations and educational institutions sat down together they could devise plans by which each could be helpful to the other in de-

veloping ways and means of increasing public understanding of and participation in the democratic process. The place and opportunity of the colleges is clearly different from that of citizens organizations. Each has a peculiarly important contribution to make. Each seems to need help from the other in developing a comprehensive program of action.

An analysis of the part to be played by each in an effective program of citizen participation suggests that three separate but correlated steps should be carried out. Each of the three steps involves a different function:

1. The first is that of fact-finding to develop essential and basic information on selected issues.
2. The second is that of public discussion in which the facts can be put before groups of citizens until the citizens have their own individual convictions about the facts and the issues to which they relate.
3. The third is that of action, which is implemented by the first and second.

The first function, fact-finding, is essentially one of scholarship. It is made to order for the colleges. They have the resources and in most cases are qualified better than any other group to find the facts on any problem objectively and impartially.

The second function, discussion, offers a splendid opportunity to citizens organizations. They have local groups scattered throughout the states and the nation. They can hold meetings and build large audiences to which the facts can be presented and through which extended discussion can take place.

The third function, action, is for the people themselves to perform. No single institution or organization may presume to act for them. Whether they choose to act through the public process of the ballot or some other machinery of their own choosing, they are and must continue to be sovereign. They must act under self-discipline and with discretion, however, else all efforts at preserving the American way of life will be futile.

The conference on self-government spent two days working out a program in which the contributions of colleges and citizens organizations might be put most effectively at the disposal of citizens. It authorized a continuing committee to work on the program and to make recommendations to all cooperating and interested groups.

PROGRAM RECOMMENDED

About the first of October President C. A. Dykstra, of the University of Wisconsin, who presided at the conference and who is chairman of the continuing effort, announced a series of five recommended programs, which, as he said, "can be carried out in any community, with a minimum of expense, with personnel available locally, and with every prospect of success." This emphasized the fact that effectiveness of participation will depend always on what is done in local communities. Unless democracy can be made to function at the grass roots, it cannot be preserved for the nation.

The five recommended programs of action are these:

1. Community organization for the coordination of citizenship efforts.

2. Application within school systems of the best practices in civic education which will lead to a better understanding of American democracy.

3. Poll of youth opinion for use in high schools.

4. Citizenship training program and the induction of new voters.

5. Application of techniques to make local citizen participation in public affairs more effective.

The conference has announced its intention to develop recommendations for cooperative programs of action in connection with the national defense program. Colleges, like citizens organizations, want to participate fully in the defense program. They recognize there must be a mobilization of the tremendous educational and civic resources of the nation in the same way that the manpower and the physical resources of the country are now being mobilized for defense. They believe that this mobilization can be affected democratically because the machinery of our educational institutions and citizens organizations has been established to operate democratically. They believe that it can be effected voluntarily because both institutions and organizations are eager to cooperate.

The problem is to select certain specific defense activities on which to focus attention, and on which to secure the cooperation of local citizens organizations. While the conference has not yet issued its recommendations, it seems abundantly clear that certain common problems

will be presented to the people of every community throughout the nation. Some of them are:

1. Giving some sort of pre-service training to the young men who will be called to military camps. This is to prepare them for camp life and to give them a knowledge of the principles of democracy which they are preparing to defend.

2. Building a national morale. This is not so much to search out fifth columnists as to find out what attitudes on our part may be most constructive and to develop programs of action which will help to give those attitudes to citizens generally.

3. Determining the essence of the American way of life. There are certain principles of our democratic form of government which must be preserved through all social change and at all cost. What are they? How can we come to know and appreciate them?

4. Deciding what kind of a world order should be developed to avoid the chaos which resulted from the first world war.

Each of these problems presents a new frontier. Each of them offers an opportunity for democratic citizen participation in their exploration and in the development of methods of dealing with them. There is an opportunity for colleges and universities to develop facts about each problem and to help in the presentation

of the facts for discussion. Citizens organizations have the opportunity to sponsor an extensive and informed discussion so that their members and citizens generally may have an understanding of major problems and some convictions about them. All groups and individuals have opportunity to take part in the programs of action which develop as a result of fact-finding and discussion.

I am firmly convinced that the tremendous emphasis now being placed on democratic processes will result in the perfection of new and better devices of citizen education and action. All of us should be looking for these new devices so that we may use them to increase the effectiveness of our participation. This means the continuation of the coöperative arrangement between citizens organizations and educational institutions which the Conference on American Self-Government has established, and the employment within that framework of whatever improved techniques human ingenuity can perfect.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Address delivered before the forty-sixth annual National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Springfield, Massachusetts, November 19, 1940.

From the Bottom Up

Citizens councils form integral part of Connecticut's educational set-up; meet monthly for discussion of basic problems.

By ALONZO G. GRACE

Commissioner of Education, Connecticut

NO THINKING citizen desires to return to the procedures or practices either in government or education that prevailed in generations past. On the other hand, every citizen has the right to expect social institutions to keep pace with changes in society. The simple process of adding services or of developing new functions, either by legislative enactment or through social pressure, to meet the exigencies of the moment does not necessarily indicate progress. Destructive criticism, unintelligent budget-cutting, false economy will not solve major problems. A far-sighted policy of planning and of constructive action should be the ultimate objective of all who seek to preserve fundamental institutions.

It was because of a deep belief in local initiative and responsibility as essential elements in the preservation of the democratic order that the procedures described here were inaugurated two years ago. They represent an effort to appraise and to guide an educational program and to secure action not by superimposing a plan by the state but by careful planning and wide discussion throughout the state by citizens and educators alike and by developing a spirit of willingness to face the facts realistically.

The plan may be slower but it is growth from the bottom up rather

than through administrative pronouncement or legislative enactment. Research and planning, wide discussion of findings, conclusions and recommendations by the teaching profession, citizen participation in the study of many problems—a program of action coöperatively developed—these represent briefly our procedures.

The state educational system in Connecticut comprises the following organization:

1. A State Board of Education consisting of nine members each appointed for a six-year term. This is a board of educational statesmen, devoted to the determination of educational policy. It represents a long tradition of educational progress for Henry Barnard became the first secretary of the board in 1838.

2. Administration of the system delegated to the commissioner of education and a staff composed of two major divisions—administration and instruction. Two additional divisions have over-all functions, that is, research and planning and acting as liaison agent to the attorney-general.

3. An administrative council representative of the entire organization.

4. The supervision council representing all supervisory interests.

5. A state citizens council and five regional citizens councils.

6. A state instruction committee and five regional instruction committees.

The general organization of the

department will not be described here. Two important councils within the department, listed above, have been formed. These are:

1. *The Administrative Council.* This organization consists of all bureau and division heads. It meets once a week, at which time administrative routine and matters of administrative policy are considered. Decisions are reached after due discussion and consideration.

2. *The Supervision Council.* This group includes all supervisors or those who have anything to do with improvement of instruction. This body also meets each week to discuss supervisory plans and programs and to formulate policies for the improvement of instruction. It provides an agency through which supervisory plans may clear, thus making possible a unified department.

PRINCIPLES OF ORGANIZATION

Five fundamental principles underlie the organization of the State Department of Education. These may be stated briefly as follows:

1. *Leadership, service, research and planning.* The fundamental purpose of a State Department of Education should be leadership, service, research and planning. The state department's function is to guide the destiny of a school system by virtue of genuinely accepted scholarship rather than through legal sanction or authority. Regulatory functions should be exercised in an educational manner.

2. *Unity.* The development of an adequate educational program is contingent upon the willingness of the many integral parts of our system to work as a unit, rather than as independent entities. The objective of education is the child, youth, adult, the state; not the

building up of a series of vested interests.

3. *Quality.* The dominant need of American education is quality rather than quantity. Our educational program, therefore, must be reorganized to permit the operation of the qualitative ideal. Quality is impossible where teachers are over-burdened, or poorly selected, where exceptionally large classes are permitted, where double sessions prevail, or where dozens of unsound practices are permitted to continue.

4. *Objectivity.* The problems of education should be approached objectively and not emotionally or irrationally. In many cases emotionalism rather than realism is the basis for discussion and action. The program of the State Department of Education is a long-term program which will be based upon adequate, intelligently conceived, and thoroughly discussed studies of the objective data.

5. *Coöperation.* In a democratic organization the wisdom and intelligence both of citizens and educators should be used to the fullest advantage in the development of an educational program. Our educators should be used in a coöperative research project to provide the state with a well considered program of education.

In order that the public may be thoroughly familiar with the need for re-direction of the school program, the problems involved, the new procedures and programs advocated and recommended, it is equally essential that citizens councils be formed as the first step in keeping the public familiar with the needs of the educational system. This means essentially that the educational program of Connecticut under this organization will grow from the bottom up rather than from the top down. It will be a program that will develop step by step. It means the con-

tinuous participation in the study and discussion of educational problems by citizens and by educators alike.

CITIZENS COUNCILS

Misconceptions often arise in our communities over the purposes, goals, procedures, or methods of education. New methods and new techniques may be developed or the curriculum may be modified. Subsequently, resistance develops in the community because parents have not been informed and citizens generally have not been permitted to learn about these changes.

In order that the experience and wisdom of our citizens may be used to the utmost to understand the educational system, to assist in the development of an educational program for the state, and to help keep the schools close to the people and citizens close to the schools, two major departures from traditional educational organization have been made. These are: (1) formation of a state citizens council, known as the Connecticut Council on Education, composed of twenty-five representatives of major organizations and outstanding leaders in the state; (2) development of five regional citizens councils representing every section of the state. Each regional council is composed of at least one representative from each town within the region. Members are selected by the various organizations or because of the statesmanship and leadership exhibited by the individual in the community.

The state council meets twice a year. It considers reports from the regional councils, decides on prob-

lems to be studied, and discusses final reports prior to transmission to the State Board of Education.

The regional councils meet for a dinner meeting once a month, with approximately an hour and a half devoted to discussion of a particular problem. An agenda is prepared in advance, or a printed or mimeographed report is in the hands of each member at least two weeks prior to the meeting. If a member is not present he is authorized to send a substitute so that his town may be sure of representation. This means that approximately two hundred citizens meet monthly to discuss fundamental educational problems.

Since the primary problem in Connecticut at this time is consideration of ways and means by which the secondary school program may be redirected, the citizens councils will study this year the findings and recommendations concerned with this fundamental problem. It is a very hopeful sign when the housewife, the machinist, the industrialist, the labor leader—a cross section of life in a state—are able to sit down side by side to discuss in a rational manner problems of education and proposed remedies or recommendations. Our people will understand educational problems better. The citizen has an opportunity to have some voice in educational planning. It is growth from the bottom up.

Democracy without intelligent and rational leadership becomes chaos. In these trying days many interpretations and definitions have been given to democracy. While it is not the intention here either to define

or to discuss the democratic process, a statement of a few basic principles will be presented. The necessity of perfecting and organizing sustained interest in all communities, not only in community affairs but in the affairs of the state or nation, is evident. Some of these first principles of democratic leadership may be listed as follows:

1. There must be a respect for the work of the individual and provision of an opportunity to contribute to the decisions that affect the individual. This is basic to all intelligent leadership.

2. Partisan politics, personal prejudices and interests, and group loyalties must be eliminated in the interest of the whole people. An enlightened public opinion can be created only through continuous dissemination and unbiased interpretation of facts relating to a given problem. Rational action, therefore, results largely from constructive critical thinking and intelligent group coöperation.

3. Though the rights and privileges of citizenship must be observed and protected, there are obligations and duties of coördinate importance which should not be ignored. To fail in the observation of the obligations of citizenship may mean ultimately an infraction of the rights and privileges of the individual as a citizen. Participation in planning procedures is an obligation of citizenship.

Other principles might be mentioned. These have been stated merely to indicate that a leadership must know where it is going if it is an intelligent leadership. A leadership that proceeds, however, on the dogmatic basis that only one answer is correct and that the problem admits of only one method of solution

results very soon in intellectual sterility on the part of those who follow. A wise leader always must be in command of the situation, but it is his business to get the greatest possible contribution towards the solution of a problem or the attainment of an objective.

COMMITTEES ON INSTRUCTION

The state and regional instruction committees are composed of educators for two reasons: (1) leadership in public education must remain with the educator for if we do not know what the problems are or how to consider solutions we probably should not belong to the profession; (2) all the good ideas are not concentrated in a particular individual or group. Wide discussion and participation in the common growth of the educational system will lead to a better understanding and to more enduring progress.

A state committee on instruction and five regional committees paralleling the citizens committees were formed to aid in the studies and to act as advisory groups on instruction. It was felt that with this organization there was little need to go outside the state for advice on how to study our program.

It is not proposed to over-organize our communities. For that reason no more than a limited number of studies will be undertaken in any one year. This year sub-committees on elementary, vocational, health, special classes, and social studies have been undertaken. A committee is studying and will make recommendations on a balanced secondary school

program. The purpose is to secure a unified educational system in order to provide the individual with an opportunity to develop his interest and capacity to the fullest, to provide for the most effective use of our educational resources, and to narrow the gap between educational practice and community living.

It is impossible here to describe the work of these committees in full. Suffice it to say that the meeting of two hundred citizens in Connecticut once each month to discuss fundamental educational problems proposed either by the groups themselves or by the studies made by our educational groups, and the participation of over seven hundred teachers, supervisors, and administrators on various committees will lead inevitably to the attainment of the common goal.

In America we talk a good deal about democracy. For example, in public education we have discussed purposes and objectives, methods and procedures. As experts in government we talk about proportional representation, the county manager form of government, and administrative organization. Far too little of our time has been devoted to the development of an attitude of intelligent understanding and rational action. Citizen participation is essential in the consideration of those policies that affect their own destiny. Action is needed, not more talk.

The procedure described here is truly applicable to government in the broader sense. Too many of our public officials think of the fundamental issues, the welfare of men,

or the functions of the office only at election time. As citizens we should know much more about the business of the state, the community, or the nation. There is a great opportunity for volunteer service in government.

As we restudy and revise the social studies courses in our secondary schools I am hopeful that we shall be able to agree on those concepts that every American citizen should possess. I am hopeful too that the type of training will be more than theoretical consideration of the simple machinery of government. An eminent university president stated some years ago that the present course in civics should become more than "a periodic spraying of the embryo citizen with a thin solution of pedagogical duco."

Democracy must become a living experience. We cannot talk democracy and regiment the minds and souls of boys and girls. I hope that in our secondary schools and for youth out of schools citizenship will become a much more realistic obligation than it has been in the past. Why not use our youth and community planning committees to study recreation, delinquency, or to help in the betterment of our respective communities? Why not delegate youth—seniors in high school and out-of-school youth—to attend town meetings, to assist in election booths and during registration periods and in a great multitude of ways in which our youth may absorb the very spirit of the democratic way. Youth is a part of the community.

Efficiency in government is not wholly a matter of organization and

method, of practice and procedure. Without the sustained interest of the governed efficiency at best is but partial. We need in America much more than public addresses about democracy and the American way of life. We need much more than description of the machinery of government. We need to implant in our people fundamental ideals. In the local communities of America rests the strength of democracy. Our communities must be better places in which to live. If I were to propose a slogan it would be "Leadership and service from above. Growth from the bottom up." That is democracy at work.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Address delivered at forty-sixth annual National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Springfield, Massachusetts, November 19, 1940.

MINNESOTA POINTS THE WAY

(Continued from Page 7)

Executive functions should be lodged in individuals with direct executive responsibility, lines of authority and of direction must be kept clear, merit of personnel constantly developed, and public information kept at a high level.

In keeping with these principles we should improve the financial stability of all local units of government now and safeguard against the great demands that the defense program

will make of the national government; but at the same time we should prepare plans and a financial program to embark upon new public works to take up the slack when the defense program tapers off.

In keeping with these principles we should approach our low cost housing and slum clearance which stands out as one of the social and economic problems which we have been least successful in meeting. In keeping with these principles we should develop the whole wide range of home defense activities.

By approaching them in this manner, I have a fundamental faith that our democratic way of life can meet the great problems now before us, and those which will continue to arise, with efficiency, with soundness, and yet keep burning brightly the light of the liberty of each individual citizen first kindled at Philadelphia a century and a half ago.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Address delivered before forty-sixth annual National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Springfield, Massachusetts, November 19, 1940.

Correction

The following correction should be made in "Comparative Tax Rates of 301 Cities—1940" appearing in the December 1940 issue of the REVIEW: Table VIII, page 796, fifth line should read; No. of Installments 5-9; Per Cent of Cities 1935, 2; Per Cent of Cities 1940, 2.

Rhode Island Tries the Merit System

New law makes personnel agency integrated part of state administration; its director chosen by governor after competitive tests.

By MAXWELL A. DEVOE, Director,
Rhode Island State Department of Civil Service

THE history of civil service in Rhode Island is a short one and may be briefly told.

Prior to 1933 the state's government was dominated by the Republican party. Only occasionally did the Democratic party gain control, as evidenced by the fact that of twenty-two governors elected from 1900 to 1933 only five were Democrats.

During the long period of Republican domination in state affairs wholesale turnover in state employment was relatively infrequent. Rhode Island citizens, in common with others throughout the country, took the superficial attitude that where tenure of office is reasonably assured there is no need for a merit system. This viewpoint completely overlooks the many advantages of a well rounded personnel program, quite apart from the question of turnover.

In 1933 a Democratic administration took office and held sway for three terms, until 1939. During this period there was wholesale turnover in public office and for the first time the citizens of the state were thoroughly aroused against the inefficiency and waste of the spoils system.

In response to public opinion, a civil service law was introduced by the Democratic administration, but

it failed to pass because it was regarded by the Republicans as a device for freezing Democratic job holders in office. A Republican administration was returned to power in 1939, and a state civil service law was passed and signed by the governor in March of that year. Interestingly enough, the law passed both houses of the state legislature unanimously; but it must not be thought that such unanimity truly represented legislative sentiment.

When read casually the Rhode Island civil service law does not reveal itself to be the administrative thriller it has turned out to be. It follows very closely the provisions of the model state civil service law which has been published under the joint sponsorship of the National Municipal League and the National Civil Service Reform League. Where it does differ it departs in a manner calculated to make the hair of any personnel administrator stand on end.

Public personnel administration has unfortunately been presented to the American public with an emotional emphasis on its moral virtues rather than on its value as a common sense, fundamental need of public administration. For this reason attitudes toward public personnel administration are adolescent and not infre-

quently infantile. Study groups can get together and discuss reasonably and unemotionally the establishment of a system for controlling public accounts or the purchase of supplies; but these same groups when confronted with the problem of establishing a personnel system lose their perspective. The very principles they generally advocate for other administrative processes are thrown overboard, and we find these study groups haggling over moral concepts which have to do with protecting the personnel system against any and all forms of political partisanship.

While there is no denying the need for establishing adequate safeguards against political manipulation, it would appear that in many civil service systems such safeguards are considered ends in themselves and the positive service features of a personnel program are regarded merely as incidental by-products.

PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION ISOLATED

To account for this misplaced emphasis, it is necessary to go back a little in the history of the civil service movement.

The earliest public personnel agencies were established in what was generally regarded as a quagmire of crass political intrigue and corruption. Rather than taint these agencies, the civil service laws placed them in an administrative isolation ward where they would not be exposed to the disease of corruption which it was assumed racked the bodies of all elective and administrative officials. Approach to the person-

nel problem was negative and was characterized by cries of "keep the rascals out" and such phrases as, "It is better to select a man by the length of his nose than to select him through political patronage."

Down through the years the demand for improved professional execution of personnel services no longer permitted the simple solutions of the personnel problem advanced in the program of the early agencies; and there has been a marked change in attitude toward the public personnel problem. Unfortunately, however, like the vestigial appendix which flares up to plague the human body, the vestigial moral concepts of personnel administration still arise to distract our attention from the basic service features of the personnel agency.

To this day various devices are proposed and put into effect to isolate the personnel agency and guarantee its political neutrality by cutting the communication lines between the over-all government structure and the agency.

Evidence of this is to be found in some of the methods used in appointing civil service commissioners and personnel directors. For example, commissioners are elected by popular vote in certain small cities as a means of securing independence for the agency; the Jefferson County (Alabama) Civil Service Commission is appointed through a very complex system of advisory groups to assure its independence. The Cincinnati Civil Service Commission is insulated from the administration in power by providing that one member shall be

appointed by the mayor, one by the Board of Education, and one by the trustees of the University of Cincinnati. Other attempts at isolation are illustrated by the establishment of civil service commissions with even numbers, on the theory that equal division between the two principal political parties will result in a stalemate if any member tries to "play politics."

Further evidence of "withdrawal from reality" is to be found in the appointment of personnel directors. In most public personnel agencies the director is appointed by the civil service commission in order to preserve the isolated entity of the agency.

In the few jurisdictions where the agency is made an integral part of government through the appointment of the personnel director by the chief executive officer, this practice has met with strong condemnation by the administrative isolationists. Strangely enough, the isolationist point of view is more prevalent among those with strongly committed political views who clamor for responsible government than among practitioners and students of public administration.

A NEW DEPARTURE

Administratively, the Rhode Island civil service system is still in its infancy, for it has been in operation only since January 1, 1940. From the standpoint of the legal basis for the system, however, Rhode Island has "come of age."

The law is relatively free from the confusions which result when the moral concepts and taboos surround-

ing the personnel problem are superimposed upon principles of administration. It recognizes that the personnel agency, to be an effective service department, must be made an integral part of executive management. Therefore, it provides for the appointment of the director and the civil service commission by the governor. The director is appointed, after open, competitive examination, from a list of three names submitted to the governor by the commission. The commissioners are appointed with the consent of the Senate. The only significant deviation from standard practice is the requirement that the minority member must be approved by the chairman of the State Central Committee of the party of which such commissioner is a member. Apparently this procedure was designed to assure the minority party true representation and not representation through a person who would play the "friendly Indian" role to the majority members.

Structurally, therefore, the personnel agency has assumed its proper place in the state's administrative management, and has not been established as an isolated entity.

So far as its internal administrative structure is concerned, the Rhode Island personnel department follows the type of agency recommended in the report of the President's Committee on Administrative Management. All administrative and technical operations are placed in the hands of the director. The commissioners are part-time officials and function as a board of trustees representing the

public interest in seeing that the system is fairly operated.

Although the commission has no administrative responsibility per se, it must not be thought that it lacks essential authority and power. The commission has important quasi-legislative and quasi-judicial functions in that after public hearing it approves rules and passes on classification and pay plans. It hears grievances with reference to the administration of the act. All these functions constitute strong controls over the authority of the director and serve as a check against arbitrary or capricious actions on his part.

The relationship between the civil service commission and the personnel director is confused in many personnel agencies because the laws fail to define the authority which each will exercise. Where the laws fail to define the boundaries within which each must operate, the sphere of influence over the personnel program will depend largely on the relative aggressiveness of the commission as compared to the personnel director. If the executive officer is not aggressive or professionally competent, the commission must move into the area of administrative activities, for the work must go on. If the commission members do not assume their share of responsibility, the director may engage in activities which properly belong to the commission. Both of these situations are unfortunate, for they lead to internal awkwardness in administration, and, what is worse, clumsiness in dealing with departmental authorities and the public.

The Rhode Island law wisely an-

ticipated this problem and resolved the difficulties by clear definitions of the duties and responsibilities of both the commission and the director. Any deviations from duly constituted authority are, therefore, readily apparent and soon corrected.

It is significant to note that not only structurally is the personnel agency made part of executive management, but it is tied in functionally as well. Rules and classification and pay plans must all be submitted to the governor for approval before they take full legal effect. Personnel administration is such an important part of public affairs that it seems proper the chief executive should have a voice in formulation of the basic tools which govern its operations.

INCUMBENTS TAKE TESTS

Now let us turn to one of the operating features of the law which sets it apart from any civil service legislation passed thus far. Although public personnel administration under formal legal sanction has been known to this country since the adoption of the Pendleton act in 1883, it is surprising how many policies affecting essential operating features are still unsolved. The question of what to do with present incumbents at the time a civil service law is passed is a case in point.

The early civil service laws solved the problem quite simply by the so-called "blanketing-in" process. Under this procedure employees occupying positions as of a certain date were automatically given all rights and privileges of full civil service status. Improved methods for recruitment of

personnel applied only to the selection of new employees.

In the middle 1930's there was considerable agitation for a requirement that present incumbents should demonstrate their fitness to be retained in the service through a qualifying examination and should not retain their jobs by default. This proposal found considerable favor and was characteristically employed in civil service legislation of this period.

Earlier in this article it was intimated that where the Rhode Island law deviates from standard practice it does so in no uncertain fashion. Treatment of the question of present incumbents illustrates this. Here is the Rhode Island solution for this problem:

Sec. 25. Status of Present Employees. Persons holding positions which would come under the classified service as described herein at the effective date of this act shall be deemed to be holding said positions temporarily until the director can by open competitive examinations provide employment lists for the various classes of positions. The director shall establish said lists as soon as possible after the effective date of this act. When and as employment lists become available all positions in the classes or positions covered by said lists shall, for the purposes of appointment thereto, be vacant and shall be filled immediately from said lists in accordance with the provisions of this act.

EMPLOYEES FEARFUL

For a fuller appreciation of what this means, it should be added that the top name only is certified and Rhode Island also has the so-called "5 and 10 point" veteran's preference provisions.

Of great importance was the reaction of the employees themselves. Those who, under normal circumstances, should have welcomed civil service as a means of removing their positions from the fitful tossing seas of political patronage were either openly disaffected or secretly skeptical and fearful. Thus, during the early, critical days of the new personnel program, the civil service system was regarded with fear and suspicion by the very group which ordinarily would be its staunchest supporter. Civil service needs many friends to assure its continued successful operation, more particularly during the early organization days when it is still fair game for the political partisans. It mattered not that the employees would have a chance to win their right to employment in a fair competitive system in contrast to the patronage system where no such opportunity was offered. All rational weighing of advantages was put aside by the dominant emotion of fear of the competitive examination process.

The open, competitive examination program placed the civil service department between the cross fires of various groups with diametrically opposed interests.

Present incumbents hoped that the examination program would be so geared to their present duties that anyone not in the state employment would have little chance for success. Those not occupying state positions hoped that examinations would be sufficiently general in content that they would have a fair chance to obtain employment. Persons lacking

formal education wanted the emphasis placed on experience. Those lacking experience wanted the emphasis placed on education. Older workers feared the youngsters would best them in the examination process and the youngsters feared the program would afford them little opportunity to gain a foothold because of experience requirements.

Underlying the hopes and fears of these several groups was, of course, the question of opposing political interests. Through these divergent interest groups the Department of Civil Service has had to chart a course which would be eminently fair to all concerned; and "navigation aids," afforded by the experiences of other agencies, were either nonexistent or of little value.

The success with which the department has steered between Scylla and Charybdis may best be shown by an analysis of examination results. These show that 56 per cent of the present incumbents retained their positions and 44 per cent failed to do so. It will be seen that persons not now in the state's employ have a fair chance to obtain positions. Of the 44 per cent representing new employees replacing present incumbents, it is interesting to note that 40 per cent are persons who have never held a state position and were for the first time attracted to the service as the result of the merit system.

It is too early to judge whether

the Rhode Island plan for determining the status of present incumbents will afford the answer to this troublesome problem. Certainly the program, when completed, will put the system on a much firmer footing than any other plan. If the political system can sustain the shock of such a heroic measure, then future phases of the personnel program should be readily assimilated.

The positive service features of a personnel program cannot long survive in the rarified atmosphere of morality. The moral desire for good government, without direct responsibility for achieving that goal, places an inconsistent demand on the personnel agency. There must be not only a moral desire, but also a direct administrative responsibility. If the system is unable to survive in the rough-and-tumble environment of its political and administrative surroundings, then transfusions of the anemic blood of morality will serve only to keep it alive as a puny runt in the government family.

The Rhode Island personnel program has its roots in the administrative life about it, and this augurs well for its ultimate success. But there are still many obstacles to overcome.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Address delivered before the forty-sixth annual National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Springfield, Massachusetts, November 19, 1940.

Traffic and Urban Decentralization

One of most pressing municipal problems is traffic congestion in business areas; inadequate parking facilities a hindrance.

By C. T. McGAVIN

Yale University Bureau for Street Traffic

TRAFFIC and urban decentralization are closely associated. It is the purpose of this discussion to delve into this relationship and to locate the problems of traffic with respect to other forces which are at work to bring about the movement we call "urban decentralization."

Perhaps a definition of what is included in the words "urban traffic" is in order.

Urban traffic is the movement of people, goods and commodities within an urban area. It involves complete movement from point of origin to destination where the interchange of goods or services takes place. Urban traffic is not limited in its meaning to just the movement of vehicles, commonly called "traffic flow," nor is it limited to automobile movement alone. It includes all modes of urban transportation plus the problem of parking. For example, in the case of a person who wishes to go to a business district to make a purchase, "traffic" will be interpreted as including the various modes of transportation used by that person — including walking — from home to the point of entrance of the establishment where the transaction is to take place.

Traffic is playing a leading part in the changes which are taking place in our cities today. The future pat-

tern of urban development will depend in large measure upon what steps are taken to adjust business district traffic facilities to the requirements of urban transportation.

Today we are faced with a bewildering array of changes—some of these changes even appear to be anomalous. For example, a city can have business decentralization and increasing traffic volume taking place within the same area.

In order to get a true picture of the roles that traffic and traffic facilities are playing in the dramatic changes now taking place in urban areas, it is well to get our bearings. We should ask ourselves four questions: Where have we been? Where are we now? Where are we headed? And finally, what can we do about it?

Transportation is as old as man, but its principal developments have taken place since the early 1800's. At that time, on sea the fastest ships were propelled by sails, while on land the extreme limit of speed was provided by the horse, just as it had been for hundreds of years before.

With the advent of mechanical transportation the desire for speed in urban transportation has been stimulated. Today, we no longer measure distance in miles but in minutes. The

shift in location of places of residence and business in terms of accessibility in minutes is one of the vital forces in urban decentralization. Now, more than ever, time is money. The appetite for speed has been stimulated, but facilities are unable to safely and conveniently fulfill this desire.

Paralleling the growing desire for more speed is a growing desire for more comfort. This desire is as old as man. The modern manifestation of this age-old desire is sometimes called "motorist laziness."

"MODERN FACILITIES"

There are some who, upon observing this so-called modern trend, claim that our generation is growing soft and that the way to solve the traffic problem is to make it less convenient to use the automobile in congested areas. This is not in accord with sound economics nor would it achieve the ideal of a more vigorous population. Indeed, some of the urban decentralization taking place today is a result of this desire for more convenience and comfort being translated into diverted buying habits. History of urban transportation development during the past one hundred years has been largely in the direction of improved convenience. Let's examine the record.

The first strictly horse car operation was started in New York City in 1832. This was a converted omnibus with a capacity of twenty passengers.

In the early days of urban transit it was a matter of getting from point to point at all, rather than getting there in a hurry.

To illustrate the principle that our conception of urban traffic should be broad and that we should be bold in our action to overcome present traffic aspects of the decentralization problem, let us note what the San Francisco City Directory of sixty-five years ago had to say of "modern metropolitan transit facilities"¹

It is hardly too much to say that the modern horse car is among the most indispensable conditions of modern metropolitan growth. It is to a city what the steam car and steamship lines are to the state and country. In these modern days of fashionable effeminacy and flabby feebleness, in which one never walks when he can ride, the horse car virtually fixes the ultimate limits of suburban growth.

This is interesting for several reasons. Since we can see how far wrong the prediction was regarding the horse car virtually fixing the ultimate limits of suburban growth, perhaps we had better ask whether we ourselves have raised our gun sights high enough in the consideration of present urban transit facilities. Apparently the author of sixty-five years ago thought that the "modern horse car" marked the ultimate end of all future urban transit development. He was also wrong in his evaluation of the importance of comfort and convenience in transportation. It was called "fashionable effeminacy and flabby feebleness" to ride in a horse car. It sounds more than a little like our modern commentaries on "motorist laziness."

¹As quoted in The San Francisco City-wide Traffic Survey, by Miller McClintock.

These comments do not solve the problem. A study made indicates that there is a rapidly increasing resistance on the part of motorist shoppers to walking more than a distance of five hundred feet. Such facts cannot be passed off with a condemnation of "motorist laziness." They represent decisions made by people of their own free will; they are, in effect, "silent votes." Today we see evidence on every hand that these silent votes have been translated into changed buying habits, affecting urban areas.

During the past sixty-five years great improvements have been taking place in rapid succession in the convenience and comfort of urban transit. In 1865 an electric battery-driven elevated was first operated in New York City. In 1871 the first cable car was introduced in San Francisco. This mode was particularly well adapted to hilly topography. Even today very excellent cable car service is still successfully serving portions of that city.

In 1872 a great epizootic disease broke out among horses in the United States.² In many cities horse car operations stopped, while in others men, oxen, and dogs were used to pull the cars. This naturally speeded up development of the electric car. The first electric car line in this country was placed in operation in 1883 and by 1905 this type service operated on over 90 per cent of the urban trackage in the country. In 1902 New York elevated lines were electrified. In 1904 the first subway service was started in New York. Since

1921 the motor bus has experienced rapid growth and development.

THE AUTOMOBILE

Following closely on the heels of electric street car development has come the automobile. While it is well known that this mode of transportation has greatly increased, it does not seem to be fully realized that the phenomenal increase in automobile ownership and use has been without precedent in the history of transportation. In 1885 there were four automobiles in the country, in 1900 there were eight thousand, in 1920 there were eight million, and today there are twenty-seven million—approximately one automobile to every 5 persons in the land.

The impact of this rapid rise in automobile ownership on the living habits and the buying habits of our urban life have been profound and may well be called the "automotive revolution." This new mode of transportation has given the motorist flexibility in choice of home location and place of business, just as the "industrial revolution" of a previous decade gave new flexibility to factory location.

Prior to the advent of steam and electric power, factories had to be located near water power for operation and near centers of population for labor and markets. The new flexibility made possible by steam and electric power acting in combination with improved methods of transportation (the canal, railroad, etc.) led to changes which had repercussions in all phases of American life. This perhaps was the first phase of in-

²*Transportation*, by Labert St. Clair.

dustrial decentralization. As is well known, it had far-reaching consequences to New England industries.

Dr. Miller McClintock, director of the Yale Bureau for Street Traffic Research, foresaw some of these changes years ago. Twenty years ago he predicted that if our congested cities could not adjust themselves to automobile transportation, decentralization was sure to result.

THE TRIGGER FORCE

Since a large number of American cities are experiencing significant changes in structure, and these changes are following similar patterns in all cities, it is well to seek out the underlying forces which are at work and examine them.

In all great changes there is usually one single force which, acting in combination with other forces, swings the balance. While it cannot truthfully be said that this one force causes the change, it is true that the one force sets those changes in motion. The great epizootic outbreak did not cause the electric street car to be developed—it merely speeded up this change. There are some who say that today the automobile is causing the changes we are now experiencing. This is not the case. It is the automobile, acting in combination with a great many other factors, which is bringing about rapid changes in urban structure.

In geology the one single force which sets in motion an earthquake is called a "trigger force." Today there are many forces at work, but transportation is acting as a trigger force to set into motion changes we

now call urban decentralization. Because of the complexity of the forces that are at work, municipal government, property owners, and business establishments are somewhat bewildered by these changes. It is important that cause and effect of urban decentralization be thoroughly studied.

Wherever decentralization of business occurs, it will be observed that motor car accessibility is an important consideration. For example, in the hotel business, roadside inns are developing rapidly. Out west these roadside inns are ultra modern and choose to call themselves "motels." Downtown hotels have had to meet this situation with convenient parking facilities. In the theatre business it has been found necessary and desirable to yield to easy motor car accessibility for successful operation, hence neighborhood theatre development.

Department stores have found it necessary to do one of two things: (1) either move closer to customers by means of branch stores, or (2) move their customers closer to the store by means of more adequate parking facilities. In groceries and markets it has been necessary to abandon the central district in most cities and develop neighborhood markets and supermarkets with adequate parking facilities.

Newer office buildings have found it desirable to provide adequate parking facilities within the building or in a nearby location. Medical, professional, and insurance buildings particularly have felt the influence of automobile transportation.

An extreme type of development catering to the convenience desires of motorist trade are the "drive-in" establishments, where the motorist is served while remaining in his car. Examples are drive-in theatres, drive-in restaurants, drive-in banks, drive-in laundries and cleaners, drive-in shoe repair shops, and there are, no doubt, many more examples.

In representative cities in the 400,000 and over population group, cordon count figures indicate that increases in the number of people entering the central business district over a ten-year-period are very slight and in several instances there are actual declines. At the same time increases in traffic volume are about 25 per cent. Decentralization of business is found to be taking place right along with increasing traffic congestion. In most cities we find increasing automobile ownership and also increasing use of automobiles as reflected in increased average gallons of gasoline per registered vehicle. In most cities the passenger automobile constitutes upward of two-thirds of the total traffic stream in the central business district.

TRAFFIC REQUIREMENTS

In order to have a clearer conception of the automobile traffic problem, it is important that we consider it in its component parts. The basic requirements of all forms of transportation are four in number: good motive means, good roadways, adequate terminal facilities, economic justification. One can readily see that this classification would fit any

means of transportation including the modern airplane.

Now let us examine those component parts more closely.

(1) *Good motive means.* Automotive manufacturers have been building comfort, convenience, and speed with safety into the automobile, but an examination of average travel speeds within cities indicates that over-all speeds during mid-day periods within the central business districts are quite low—on the average, approximately twelve miles per hour and often less. When one considers the fact that all cars coming off the production lines today are capable of sixty miles per hour speed under safe operating conditions of roadway, it is readily apparent that the automobile is being forced to operate far below its capacity to serve.

It is unlikely that we shall be able to move about urban areas at such high rates of speed; but the time is rapidly approaching when street traffic conditions within central business areas must be improved. The question is, what physical limitations are now placed on modern urban transportation and how may these be overcome? The problem of raising travel speeds in urban areas with safety is one of real importance. But in spite of the rapid advances and improvements which have been made within recent years, can facilities for handling urban traffic be improved in time to remove traffic as a factor in the present decentralization problem?

(2) *Good roadways.* Here the first duty of the traffic engineer is to see that the present roadway structure itself is receiving its most efficient

use. Here the three E's of traffic control are used to the maximum—engineering, education, and enforcement. When the saturation point of traffic density has been reached, there is no black magic by which more cars can be put in the same space at the same time. No increase in number of police officers, no matter how well trained, can force traffic volume over a street system incapable of carrying the load. Therefore, when the ultimate capacity of a street system has been reached, the solution lies in adjustment of the structural rather than the operating elements of automotive transportation.³

There is, of course, the problem of cost and the economic advantage of the improvement. Recognition of the fact that traffic congestion is an important phase of government administration in our urban business districts and that relief measures must be economically sound, the Yale bureau has undertaken an economic study of traffic congestion. This study will delve into a method for evaluating economic losses due to congestion.

PARKING PROBLEM

(3) *Adequate terminal facilities for the automobile.* It is obvious that if the automobile is to be of any usefulness at all, it must be possible for the motorist to be able to leave his car within a convenient distance of his intended destination and in satisfactory facilities at a fair cost. This immediately raises the question of whether the ideal requirements

demanding by the motorist can be economically justified.

The Yale Bureau for Street Traffic Research has had a study of all aspects of the parking problem under way for over a year. It delves into methods for determining the requirements of adequate parking facilities; it analyzes the economic benefits resulting from adequate parking facilities. It attempts to discover: (1) Can "adequate" parking facilities be provided? (2) Can the required facilities be economically justified? (3) Who should undertake the solution and how?

The bureau has selected twenty-nine cities for special study. Measurements made in these cities will furnish yardsticks for application of the same principles to other cities. Tools and techniques have been carefully worked out and the coöperation of twenty-five national associations of business as well as that of all levels of government, has been secured.

(4) *Economic justification.* This involves the motorist, the taxpayer, and the city government in an equation of economic benefits to each as weighed against the costs involved in all three investments in automobile transportation—the motor car itself, the roadways, and the terminals. Some indication as to present values being paid for a service which is far from potential possibilities is illustrated in this typical example: A city in which the average motorist who parks in the central business district pays thirty-five cents for all-day parking. The average walking distance to destination is approximately five minutes. Origin and

³Report to American Automobile Association by Dr. Miller McClintock.

destination studies indicate that the average person in that city lives four miles from the heart of the central district. Time studies indicate that to this area average speed of street cars is nine miles per hour while the auto has an over-all average of fifteen miles per hour. The street car fare is fourteen cents. This motorist is willing to pay fifty-five cents in actual operating expenses (gas, oil, and parking) without allowance for depreciation. It requires sixteen minutes to go to town by automobile, plus approximately five minutes to park the car and walk to the motorist's destination. The street car would require twenty-seven minutes. Allowing five minutes for walking to and from the public carrier, we have a thirty-two-minute time requirement. For eleven minutes time, plus the convenience and comfort of the automobile, the motorist is willing to pay forty-one cents per day.

WHY NOT WALK?

In cities where parking facilities are inadequate—as to location, capacity, price, and general motorist acceptance—there is quite naturally much congestion. Other elements in the traffic stream tend to retard traffic flow—the parking cruiser, parking in loading zones. Thus in cities where the parking problem looms large, operating speeds for both the

public carrier and the private automobile are lower than twelve miles per hour; and occasionally this overall speed for central business district traffic has been known to drop to four miles per hour—a walking pace.

It is evident that where such congestion exists and travel time is so reduced, the area concerned is handicapped since the incentive to visit it in order to transact business is reduced. As the difficulties of parking increase, time losses increase, comfort is reduced to a point where it becomes a minus quantity. Therein lies one of the dynamic factors in business decentralization.

In seeking to bring about orderly improvements the most logical approach is to seek the weakest link and apply the proper effort to its strengthening. In most instances, in urban transportation, this is the parking problem. The problem affects adversely all modes of transportation and also the efficient movement of merchandise within the central business district. The parking problem is a vulnerable point for attack. Solution of this problem will reduce the potency of the traffic aspects of urban decentralization.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Address delivered before forty-sixth annual National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Springfield, Massachusetts, November 20, 1940.

What Can the Newspapers Do?

SOME twenty-five editors, reporters, magazine writers, and civic leaders gathered round a table at the 1940 annual National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League over which Karl Detzer, roving editor of *Reader's Digest* presided. Their purpose—to work out some ideas on the role of newspapers and magazines in democracy's crisis. Here are some of the salient observations.

* * *

On the newspaper's aims:

ROBERT R. MULLEN, assistant city editor, *Christian Science Monitor*:

The press has two objectives. The first objective is to supply the raw material of fact regarding the crisis of democracy, upon which the citizenry can make its own intelligent decisions. The second objective is the editorial side, that is, the drawing of conclusions based on those facts. I think that is the ultimate goal.

* * *

On what kind of news should be served:

GEORGE E. PELLETIER, *Providence Journal*:

I would eliminate the editorial page of most newspapers and bring it back to where it stood fifty or sixty years ago where, when the editor really had something to say, he either put it on the front page or he led the editorial page with it, the rest of the page at that time containing news as it should.

There is no reason in the world why a substantial newspaper should print editorials day by day on the life of the ant, or all sorts of foolish subjects, so that when it really has an editorial that counts and that is likely to influence somebody, it is lost in a maze of foolish editorials.

OXIE REICHLER, managing editor of the *Yonkers Herald-Statesman*:

I should say that the great responsibility is not during a crisis when everybody is "hot-pants" about getting things done, but during the time when we've made a little victory. You must keep up the pitch; you must keep up the interest.

The press should assign itself to avoid confusion, to clarify matters, and to shatter those illusions which politicians love to build. But if no one reads us we are not effective. Many newspapers have not yet come to a point where they regard municipal government as news, hot news; they don't present it either through writing or through address or through position in the newspaper or through simple language—which is terribly necessary if the people are to get it. How can we present this material so that it will be literally eaten up the way a good juicy divorce story will be, or a sexy crime?

In Yonkers we went down into the districts, into the wards, and into the city and county committees, and we began telling stories about what makes the wheels go. We dragged

in also the work of the lobbies. Does the average man in the street know who is pulling the strings? Can he get it? I think that he ought to have it made available.

We have been trying to teach our readers that city hall is no palace from which guards can bar them; that it is their house and they have a right to be there, in fact they are wrong if they don't get there.

I urge you, every one of you, to watch the public opinion column in your own paper. If it isn't as good as you think it ought to be, it's your fault. You ought to be writing to it. A lively letter column means that readers are participating; once you get participation you don't have any problems.

We tell the whole story. We tell the laughs and the tears and the human interest stories. Our government has human interest. We report in detail about city finance. We find it pretty lively. We do it also by nurturing civic groups, good civic groups. We toss apples of discontent. We find them very effective. Today's scandal is the basis of tomorrow's reform.

* * *

On which audience should be reached:

DANIEL D. MICH, New York editor of *Look Magazine*:

I don't think there is any defense at all of political corruption but I don't see how it can be eliminated until you get at the causes. The causes, it seems to me, are too many poor people who know too little and can be deluded and

bought, and too many rich people who know too much. I don't think that most newspapers get at those fundamental causes. The press in general, I think, can rightfully be accused of having neglected that field.

* * *

On the value of newspaper publicity in political campaigns:

MR. PELLETIER:

I think in the general attitude of those who are engaged in reform movements there lingers the thought that, provided they can get publicity for their movement, they are going to go over. It seems to me that publicity comes of itself once organizations become newsworthy, whereas if they get a lot of easy publicity they are immediately deluded with the idea that their movement is going across and forget the organization which is very important. I don't think publicity in itself is worth more than 10 per cent or 15 per cent of the entire campaign.

* * *

On a proposal for a municipally-operated or a state-operated publicity bureau:

MR. REICHLER:

That's bad from the public point of view because you attempt to gloss over or suppress the undesirable things and it's these undesirable things that we need terribly.

MR. PELLETIER:

There is another difficulty, that you couldn't get the news anyway. It would be interpreted as an attempt

to gag the press or at least to prevent it from getting first-hand information.

If you had three or four newspapers in one town, they'd be getting the same story.

* * *

On the kind of newspapermen we need:

WALTER J. MILLARD, Field Secretary, National Municipal League:

The publishers and the managing editors of the dailies of our larger cities should put on the job of reporting men who have some background and training in political science. The man with a political science background, with good reporting training, will see the significance of something that on the surface is not dramatic. He'll take those dead statistics and make them vital.

MR. REICHLER:

The non-trained men who are good reporters will get a better story. Why? Because they'll say: "Now look, I'm thick. Explain it to me in more simple language."

If the reporter isn't too skillful in his technical knowledge, he may do a better job for the low-brow reader.

* * *

On virtue vs. vice:

KARL DETZER, Roving Editor, *Reader's Digest*:

In the Reader's Digest we find

that people are as much interested in dramatic city virtue as they are in civic vice. Almost always our stories of civic virtue rank way up at the top of the column and often our stories of civic vice rank far down.

MR. MICH:

We take a reader poll too and the constructive stories rate higher than the exposé type of story. When you praise a job well done they seem to like it better.

MR. MULLEN:

We don't believe in crusading exposé types of stories. The other side does seem to excite interest.

MR. MICH:

Everybody loves success stories.

* * *

On the influence of advertisers:

MR. REICHLER:

Where are these advertisers? They come in and holler and because they holler we do the opposite. We have lost advertising but we're rich enough so that we needn't worry. But the taxpayer's group in Yonkers has now got to a point where merchants are sticking their chins out and contributing and the banks are contributing to finance the taxpayer's group. Now that's education.

Contributors in Review

IN AT least four states, in the federal government, even in Canada, **Maxwell A. DeVoe** (*Rhode Island Tries the Merit System*) has served in top-flight positions involving public personnel administration. The director of the Rhode Island Department of Civil Service—appointed in September 1939 from an eligible list established as a result of a nation-wide, open competitive examination—is a Ph.D. with major in psychology and personnel administration, has been a personnel officer in Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, and with the Farm Credit Administration, and was field consultant for the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada.

EDUCATION plus democracy has been the concern of **Alonzo G. Grace** (*From the Bottom Up*) ever since he began as a teacher of social studies in rural schools some eighteen years ago. For the past two years Connecticut's Commissioner of Education, Dr. Grace has pursued a many faceted career as professor of education, director of school surveys, and expert in public administration. The universities at which he has taught include Syracuse (School of Citizenship and Public Affairs) and Rochester. He has been identified also with the National Advisory Committee on Education, the New York State Regents' Inquiry into the Character and Cost of Education, a Washington state survey of education, and many other surveys.

LAW, business, and government interests are welded in the career of **Mark Matthews** (*Young Men in Action*), 34-year old president of the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce. In 1937 Mr. Matthews progressed from several years' association with New York law firms to the directorship of the Legislative Division of the office of New York City's Corporation Counsel, where he was in charge of the drafting and introduction in the state legislature of all legislation for the city. He was the youngest man ever to hold the job. Mr. Matthews has been active in the Junior Chamber for the past ten years.

PARKING and traffic questions have been the passion of **C. T. McGavin** (*Traffic and Urban Decentralization*) since 1926, when he decided to undertake a solution of these knotty problems. Since then he has managed practically all types of parking facilities, and is now heading up the parking study undertaken over a year ago by the Yale University Bureau for Street Traffic Research.

THE youngest governor ever elected in the United States, Minnesota's **Harold E. Stassen** (*Minnesota Points the Way*) is a farm boy who made good. He worked his way through the University of Minnesota at a variety of jobs, and at the same time began a meteoric political career by garnering almost every campus office. In 1929 he received his law degree, set up a law office in South St. Paul, and the following year took time out from his flourishing practice to run for attorney of Dakota County—his first political office. He was re-elected in 1934 and held the job until he was elected governor in 1937 at the age of 31. Highlights of Governor Stassen's first term—he has just been elected to a second—include a new civil service law, labor and anti-loan shark bills, reduction of state operating costs by five million dollars, and institution of a state business manager.

(Continued on Page 68)

The Researcher's Digest: January

Oregon's children study forms of government; Detroit studies juvenile delinquency; Rochester finances made understandable; Dayton voters and bond issues; Boston county ills; Duluth assessments.

THE blindly irate taxpayer, the non-voting citizen, the machine-gripped voter—like the Bowery bum, they were all young once, too. Upon the theory that by catching 'em when they're youthful these human sand particles in democracy's machinery may be prevented, the **Bureau of Municipal Research and Service of the University of Oregon** has prepared a painstaking outline to be used in the schools as a guide to a realistic study of local government.

City Government Forms in Oregon,¹ prepared with the coöperation of the WPA, is an eighty-six-page mimeographed book which gives a simply worded history and description of existing forms, outlines (with individual charts) the organization of government in twenty-two Oregon cities, and provides a suggested procedure for a student survey of city government. The accent is emphatically upon forms and organization, rather than upon function. A preface remarks upon this limitation. "These sections serve merely as an introduction to or a point of departure for a complete study of the scope and nature of the services of city government. The physical proximity of the agencies of city government and the frequent contact which citizens have with their city government will enable the student to carry on his studies of city government at first hand and thus to get a realistic concept of its form and operation."

The book was sent to all city school superintendents in Oregon.

Standardizing Youthful Crime

Concerned with the young idea, too, is the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research**, which publishes *Notes on a Conference for Measuring Juvenile Delinquency*.² The conference was called in March 1940 by the School of Public Affairs and Social Work of Wayne University because, according to the preface, "Crime prevention of necessity begins with that reservoir of potential criminals—the juvenile delinquent. . . . But in spite of the interest in the subject there exists no acceptable uniform definition of juvenile delinquency, no accurate knowledge of its amount, or where it exists or why it exists."

Some ninety or a hundred persons intimately connected in Detroit with social work and juveniles took part in the discussions of which this report is a resumé. One pertinent conclusion of the conference was that a central clearing agency be set up to correlate data on juvenile delinquency tabulated by the many different agencies in the city. It was recommended that some such organization as the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research** be assigned the job.

The report lists eleven problems which should provide a basis for further investigation.

Homely Story

A straw-thatched version of the usually cold, forbidding facts on municipal finance is offered the Rochester citizen in the November 1940 issue of the bulletin of the **Rochester Bureau of**

¹1939, price 50 cents.

²Memorandum No. 175, 1940, 11 pp.

Municipal Research. "A Homely Story of a Debt," the bureau calls it, with the significant subtitle, "Rochester Overspending." The tale begins: "Once upon a time there was a man who ran up bills at a tailor shop and a grocery store." The man's adventures with his \$66 debt, the details of the aid extended him by his dad and his Uncle Lionel, his financial cogitations while lying in bed trying to fall asleep, are entertainingly related from there on. Then the bureau translates the tale into municipal terms.

Voters Like School Bonds

Still another approach to municipal finance is the **Dayton Research Association's**, "Why Do Communities Issue Bonds After All."³ There is an ABC explanation of the mechanics of bond issuing, a list of the kinds of bonds which can be issued with and without popular vote, within and outside the Ohio debt limit, and a tabulation of the amount, purpose, and popular vote on all bond issues submitted to Dayton voters since 1914.

The bureau finds that citizens like bond issues for school buildings best; grant almost as many requests for streets and sewers and grade elimination, with the fire department also high in popular fancy. Far less favored are parks and playgrounds, bridges and culverts, courthouses, sewage disposal, garbage incinerator, county home. All of the bond issues proposed by the city of Dayton, combined, drew a 48 per cent vote for and 52 per cent vote against. The batting average for the county bond issues was about the same, but the schools were much better treated: 70 per cent for, 30 per cent against.

What Causes County Scandal

Because of recent scandals in Suffolk County (Boston), the **Boston Municipal Research Bureau** publishes an extended report on the fundamentals of county government which underlie such scandals.⁴

Part I contains a review and a chart of county activities, with a consideration of county payments and payrolls and city-county relations. Part II describes the weaknesses of the system as the Boston bureau sees them. Six major reforms—"a program of citizen action"—are suggested at the end. They are: revision of county boundaries, institution of a civil service merit system for county employees, redistribution of court expenses, removal of administrative posts from politics, elimination of duplication of effort between the city and county, and effective control of county costs.

Says the bureau hopefully: "What exactly is Suffolk County? How much does it spend? What can or should be done about it? These questions occur to every thoughtful citizen who is not content with correction of temporary evils."

Erratic Assessments

An analysis of a six-year period by the **Duluth Governmental Research Bureau** shows that Duluth residence property selling for \$10,000 is under-assessed, and would have to be increased 47 per cent to equal fair market value. On all other property the median assessment was 111 per cent of the sale price, with a spread of from 35 per cent to 377 per cent. The bureau's findings were submitted to the County Board of Equalization.⁵

³*Facts*, No. 95, Dec. 2, 1940, 4 pp. mimeo.

⁴*County Government in Boston*, Nov. 27, 1940, 12 pp.

⁵1940, 5 pp. mimeo.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Assessments

Memorandum and Letter Presented to the County Board of Equalization. Duluth (Minn.) Governmental Research Bureau, Inc., August 30, 1940. 6 pp. mimeo.

County Government

County Government in Boston. Boston Municipal Research Bureau, *Report*, November 27, 1940. 12 pp.

Courts

The Court Will Come to Order. Dayton (Ohio) Research Association, *Facts*, November 18, 1940. 3 pp. mimeo.

Crime

Notes on a Conference for Measuring Juvenile Delinquency. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., September 1940. 11 pp.

Finance

A Homely Story of a Debt—Rochester Overspending. Rochester (N. Y.) Bureau of Municipal Research, *Municipal Research*, November 1940. 1 p.

Improvement Anticipation Sinking Funds. Bureau of Municipal Research and Service, University of Oregon, Eugene, *Finance Bulletin*, September 1940. 38 pp. mimeo.

Why Do Communities Issue Bonds, After All. Dayton (Ohio) Research Association, *Facts*, December 2, 1940. 4 pp.

Forms of Government

City Government Forms in Oregon. Bureau of Municipal Research and Service, University of Oregon, Eugene, 1940. 86 pp. mimeo.

Public Welfare

The County Welfare Hodgepodge. The Ohio Institute (Columbus), *The Ohio Citizen*, November 30, 1940. 2 pp. mimeo.

Public Works

Let's "Look in the Mouth of the Gift Horse." Schenectady (N. Y.) Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., *Research Brevities*, November 20, 1940. 1 pp. mimeo.

Refuse Disposal

Planning Refuse Disposal. Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, November 26, 1940. 2 pp.

Taxation

Hidden Taxes. Dayton (Ohio) Research Association, *Facts*, October 7, 1940. 3 pp. mimeo.

Transportation

Information Relative to Bus Franchise and Trolley Elimination. Schenectady (N. Y.) Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., *Research Brevities*, November 29, 1940. 2 pp. mimeo.

Voting

Again on January First. Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research, *White Paper No. 253*, November 27, 1940. 3 pp.

News in Review

City, State, Nation
Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Washington State Puzzle— “Split Straight Ticket” *Legislature will be asked to clarify election laws.*

A MOVEMENT for revision and clarification of Washington's election laws is expected to develop at the January session of the state legislature. Officials of the state Democratic party have protested the election of Arthur B. Langlie to the governorship on the ground that many of his votes resulted from “split straight ticket” voting, wherein voters indicated their desire to vote a straight party ballot by marking an “x” at the top of the desired column, and then “crossed over” to vote specifically for one candidate in another party.

The practice has been upheld many times in opinions rendered by the attorney-general of the state over the past quarter of a century, and is generally considered to be in line with the directions appearing at the top of the paper ballot and in the election laws. However, members of both major parties have indicated the legislature might be asked to clarify the statutes governing election procedure.

Langlie, mayor of Seattle and Republican candidate for governor, was elected by a margin of approximately 6,000 votes, the final outcome having been determined in the counting of absentee ballots. All other major state positions were filled by Democratic candidates, the state legislature also being heavily Democratic.

Biggest job ahead of the new state administration is to finance the new

pension plan adopted by initiative in November, and to correlate it with existing state and federal regulations.

EWEN C. DINGWALL
Municipal League of Seattle

Cities Face Defense Problems, Seek Revenues, Home Rule

American cities, in their plans and expressions of policy for the new year, are showing their desire to cooperate in the national defense program, while holding to the traditions of home rule and realizing the perennially pressing need for revenue. As aspects of the financial problem they also oppose federal taxation of income from bonds or other municipal securities and urge more equitable rates of insurance for municipal property. A tendency toward lengthening elective terms to four years is noticeable. Extension of the social security act to include municipal employees is definitely favored in a few instances only.

The American Municipal Association has made a study of the 1941 programs of cities in thirty-three states, particularly as set forth by state leagues of municipalities, showing these general results.

The League of California Cities stresses the need of foresight and planning in connection with the effects of defense preparations on city governments, and also in contemplation of the possible future effects of a sudden decline in armament production and military or semi-military activities whenever the international situation may reach decision.

Philadelphians Work for Home Rule

City home rule enabling legislation, of state-wide application, will be intro-

duced at the 1941 session of the Pennsylvania legislature. A strong group, led by the Philadelphia Committee of Seventy, has completed the drafting of a proposed bill which would implement the home rule constitutional amendment adopted in 1922. This amendment has never been put into use because of the failure of the legislature to pass an enabling act.

Efforts are continuing in Philadelphia to bring about city-county consolidation. This requires a constitutional amendment, which must pass two legislatures and a vote of the people. A similar amendment was defeated at a referendum vote in 1937.

Master Plan for New York City

On December 5 the City Planning Commission of New York City, at a meeting arranged by the Citizens Housing Council of that city, made its first public presentation of its proposed master plan of land use, evolved after three years of preparation and in accordance with the new charter of the city. Rexford G. Tugwell, chairman of the commission, exhibited three basic maps embodying the plan, and explained their significance. The first showed the present residential and economic distribution of land use; the second, the future situation after such advances as slum elimination; and the third, a portrayal for the more distant future, when the present foresight of the planners and the direction imposed by zoning and public works will have become largely effective.

Council Manager Plan News

Traverse City, Michigan, which adopted the manager plan at the November 5 election, began operating under its new charter two weeks later,

with a new city commission of seven members. It is hoped that a city manager will be engaged by January 1.

In **Munising**, on the upper peninsula of Michigan, the Munising Development Club is studying the manager plan, a form of which, according to its present charter, can be adopted by unanimous vote of the present three-man city commission or by referendum. The plan has been described and discussed at meetings of the club, which will decide later whether to seek to revise the charter or to have the commission appoint a manager under present charter provisions.

On December 2 the city council of **Kings Mountain, North Carolina**, adopted an ordinance establishing the manager plan.

Little Rock, Arkansas, at a preferential primary November 22, voted against the manager plan, 4,575 to 2,100.

Plan E—the city manager plan with proportional representation—is under fire in **Massachusetts** courts. Suit has been brought in an attempt to prove it unconstitutional. **Cambridge** adopted the plan at the November election.

The vote on the council-manager amendment to the **San Antonio, Texas**, charter on December 17 resulted in an unfavorable decision, approximately ten thousand to six thousand, in a very light vote.

Salem, Oregon, failed to adopt the council-manager plan by a vote of 6,519 to 4,516 on November 27.

A recount of the ballots cast on November 5 in **Haverhill, Massachusetts**, shows that the voters actually defeated the manager plan (Plan D) by a narrow margin. First announcement of results immediately after the election gave the plan a victory by twenty-six votes.

Voters of **Vinton, Virginia**, will go to the polls on February 4 to vote on a

proposed abandonment of their town manager government.

Social Security for Public Employees

The Municipal Finance Officers' Association of the United States and Canada brought together in Washington on November 25 twenty-nine representatives of state and local retirement systems, with nine members of the staffs of the Federal Security Agency and the Social Security Board. This group discussed the problems involved in extending to public employees the benefits of the social security act.

Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York on November 19 announced that he was introducing a bill that would specifically exempt from coverage under the social security act all public employees already protected by pension plans under state, county, or municipal auspices; and that this would be re-introduced after January 1, 1941, if not acted on by the then congress, as was hardly likely.

Cincinnati's Night Courses for Public Employees

The value of planned, directed study to public service employees in Cincinnati is amply attested by the fact that their number constituted 9.36 per cent of the total enrollment of the Evening College of the University of Cincinnati for the school year 1939-40. The employment record of these men and women showed representation of all types of public positions in the Cincinnati area, but the city of Cincinnati employees led the list with 153 of the total of 568 employees registered for courses. Perhaps the fact that the City Civil Service Commission grants rating credit each year for work taken in furtherance of job requirements helped to swell the total of "city" students.

Nevertheless, employees of other levels of government in the Cincinnati region contributed largely to the total, including 126 United States government employees, 122 from the Cincinnati Board of Education, sixty-eight from the University of Cincinnati, twenty-eight from the Public Library, twenty-five from Hamilton County, twenty-four from the General Hospital staff, twelve state employees, and a miscellaneous group of ten from various minor public agencies.

That 6,062 persons in the Cincinnati area found it beneficial to attend the evening session of the municipal university speaks well for the courses offered during 1939-40. A look at the numbers registered in the largest classes and an inspection of the content and subject matter of those courses might provide a clue, not only to reasons for the popularity of this Evening College, but more particularly to explain the interests of public employees in these studies. Courses in accounting, business correspondence, and basic principles of economics top the list in size of enrollment, with trigonometry and business law running close behind. These courses recommend themselves as practical tools or background for public administrative posts. A wide range of choice was offered during the 1939-40 school year: eighty-two courses in commerce, sixty-one in engineering, forty-six in applied arts, and twenty-seven in liberal arts. Of the latter, courses in political and social science as well as those in correct English seemed to attract public service employees most.

The Evening College is thus providing a very real service to governmental employees in and near Cincinnati.

MELBA PHILLIPS BOWERS

Municipal Reference Librarian
University of Cincinnati

Schools for City Finance Officers in Eight States

City finance officers are students in regular in-service training programs established in the states of Utah, Texas, Virginia, New York, Michigan, Wisconsin, Florida, and California, according to the Municipal Finance Officers' Association. The courses, like similar ones for policemen, firemen, water and sewer plant operators, and health and welfare employees, are paid for by federal funds matched by state or local money, or both, in five of the states. In Wisconsin, Florida, and California the finance officers training program is conducted without federal assistance.

City clerks, treasurers, and other finance officers study for the practical assistance they get from the training programs, which are not a part of a college course leading to a degree and are not required to conform to the conditions governing a college course.

Logan-Walter Bill Vetoed

The Logan-Walter bill, to extend the scope of court jurisdiction over federal administrative agencies to include review of rulings and regulations, which had passed the House of Representatives and the Senate—the latter by a majority of two on November 26—was vetoed on December 18 by President Roosevelt. On the same day an effort in the House to override the veto was unsuccessful.

President Roosevelt accompanied his veto message with an analysis of the proposal by Attorney-General Jackson. While stating that existing administrative procedures may well be improved, both maintained that the bill was far too sweeping, and would greatly impede efficient administration and the speedy attainment of substantial justice. The President said: "I am convinced that it is an invitation to endless and innumerable controversies

at a moment when we can least afford to spend either governmental or private effort in the luxury of litigation." He believes the bill was opposed to one of the most significant and useful trends of the twentieth century in legal administration, referring to the development of administrative tribunals in recognition of the inappropriateness of subjecting the daily routine of fact-finding by governmental agencies to formal court procedure. "It is characteristic of these tribunals that simple and non-technical hearings take the place of court trials, and informal proceedings supersede rigid and formal pleadings and processes."

He announced that the Acheson committee, which has been studying the broad problem of federal administrative procedure for over a year, would report in a few weeks.

Los Angeles County Extends Civil Service Aid

In our June issue, at page 416, the statement was made that the California State Personnel Board renders certain personnel services for Los Angeles County as well as various municipalities in the state. Clifford N. Amsen, secretary and chief examiner of the Los Angeles County Civil Service Commission, writes to the effect that his commission not only does its own personnel work but also performs contract civil service work for the following cities: Bell, Burbank, Culver City, Gardena, Hawthorne, Inglewood, Manhattan Beach, Maywood, Redondo Beach, and South Gate. In some of these all functions of civil service are performed, while in others examination work only is done. In addition to this, the county has within the past fifteen months taken over the civil service work for the flood control district and the fire protection districts within the county.

State Governments More Centralized

A definite trend toward expansion of governors' administrative authority is shown by an analysis of governmental reorganizations in ten states during the last decade. The study was made for the Council of State Governments by Leonard D. White and M. Harvey Sherman of the department of political science, University of Chicago, and covered the entire country.

Reorganizations were accomplished by statute rather than constitutional amendment in all ten states—Colorado, Connecticut, Georgia, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, North Carolina, Rhode Island, and Wisconsin. These states brought to twenty-seven the number which have reorganized since Illinois started the movement in 1917. Besides reorganizations since 1930, four states made extensive revisions of original plans set up before 1930.

Significant Consolidations

The reorganizations consolidated many small agencies into fewer large departments, and provided for the appointment rather than the election of many important state officials with removal powers vested in the governors.

Increases in powers of the chief executives resulted from additional legal authority conferred upon the governor himself, and from more adequate means for making his authority effective. Problems of the depression have also increased the importance of the governor's office.

Several states during the decade gave their governors almost unlimited removal power with respect to appointees, whether or not they were confirmed by the senate. Two states—Indiana and Wisconsin—permitted the governor to make broad reorganizations by executive order, while limited powers of reorganization were given

governors of Colorado and Louisiana.

One of the most significant trends during the last decade, according to the analysis, was the consolidation of various institutional and control functions into a single managerial agency, effected in eight of the ten states. Since none of the reorganizations was brought about by constitutional amendment, however, the status of constitutionally-elected officials remained practically unchanged; in the eight states one or more of the newly consolidated departments were headed by an elective official. Despite this there was a definite movement toward appointment rather than election as a method of selection for statutory officials.

Another significant trend has been toward the executive budget. In 1930 the budgets of thirty-three states were prepared by the executives, ten by administrative boards, four by legislative-administrative boards, and one by the legislature. Forty states had executive budgets by 1940.

An expansion of administrative control over expenditures, with pre-auditing or the power to examine vouchers, bills, and claims before payment, was shown by the analysis. The pre-audit is practiced in some form in every state, although in only fifteen states is the function in the hands of an administrative official appointed by and responsible to the governor. Of the fifteen states, nine have authorized this function since 1930.

Fiscal Control

The number of states that have authorized an administrative body to decrease or suspend expenditures regardless of the stipulated appropriations enacted by their legislatures increased during the last ten years, according to the analysis, from one to twenty-four. Four additional states are not included among the twenty-

four, although in effect they authorized reductions in expenditures either by permitting the suspension of governmental functions or by requiring that reserves be set aside. The authority for making actual reductions lies in the hands of the governor or an officer or agency responsible to him in eighteen states, while in four the governor must have the approval of a second body. In three states the governor is a member of the agency.

The number of states authorizing an administrative body to transfer funds from one item in an appropriation act to another increased from twenty-three in 1930 to thirty-five in 1940. The governor or an officer responsible to him exercises the transfer power in twenty-two of the states, while in ten states the power has been placed in the hands of a board of which the governor is a member. In three states the governor and a council exercise joint control.

Prior to 1930 nine states had adopted statutes enabling an administrative body to restrict departments to monthly allotments of annual appropriations. This number was increased to thirty-one during the last ten years. In twenty-six of the states authority has been granted to the governor or a fiscal agent responsible to him. The other five states have made the governor and another agency jointly responsible or have utilized agencies not responsible directly to him.

Notes from New Hampshire

Conferences on government: A series of conferences was conducted at the University of New Hampshire during the month of December. On December 2 the subject of grants-in-aid was discussed, on December 9 public personnel, and on December 16 state reorganization. State and local officials were invited to these conferences to

discuss with Dr. Robert P. Blood, Governor-elect, the present state policy and to suggest changes in the fields indicated.

Interest in municipal league: Seventeen interested citizens, most of whom were active officials, met at Concord, November 25, to discuss the formation of a state municipal league. The group voted to call a state-wide meeting to which towns and cities were requested to send representatives for the purpose of discussing the possibilities of such an organization. Mr. Edward J. Gallagher, ex-mayor of Laconia, is chairman of the state committee in charge of plans.

Optional charters: The New Hampshire legislature in January is certain to have before it a bill which will provide for optional city charters. Several interested groups were busy developing proposed strong mayor and city manager charters for the bill.

LASHLEY G. HARVEY

University of New Hampshire

New Mexico Legislature Divides Session

New Mexico will experiment in 1941 with a split session of the legislature, that is, the legislature will meet on January 14 for thirty days, adjourning for a like period, and convening again for thirty days. In the first term legislation will be introduced and in the last period such legislation will be considered and disposed of.

While too much should not be expected by way of improvement in legislative procedure, we shall do all we can to assist the legislature in keeping the public informed as to the nature of pending legislation during the interval between terms.

RUPERT P. ASPLUND

Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Roundup—

BBUDGETGRAMS are the latest wrinkle in citizen group publications. . . . For three weeks prior to its annual meeting at which action was to be taken on the proposed city budget for 1941, the **Yonkers Committee of 100** published daily in the *Yonkers Herald-Statesman* a feature containing comments and suggestions as to possible economies that might be effected in the budget. The result was a large amount of enlightened public interest in the Yonkers budget. . . . This sounds like an excellent idea for other organizations which are fortunate enough to have the active coöperation of a local paper.

The **Citizens Union of New York** held its annual meeting at a dinner December 16, to "celebrate the victory for proportional representation and prepare the way for next year's campaign for county reform. . . . Former Judges Samuel Seabury and Thomas Thacher and a number of city officials, including Newbold Morris, president of the New York City Council, were guests of honor.

The Local Government Committee of the **City Club of Chicago** has issued its first report based on preliminary work. . . . It concludes that because of Chicago's chaotic local governmental structure, it is impossible to assign political responsibility for administrative failures and that some agency should undertake the task of analyzing the existing organization and of recommending changes directed toward a simplified municipal government for all of Metropolitan Chicago.

A record crowd gathered at the Hotel Statler in Boston for the ninth annual

meeting of the **Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Association**. . . . Theme of the day was "Meeting the Challenge to American Democracy," and speakers were DeWitt C. Poole, former director of Princeton University's School of Public Affairs, Governor Leverett Saltonstall of Massachusetts, Reginald W. Bird, president, and Norman MacDonald, executive director, of the federation.

The December *Illinois Voter*, publication of the **Illinois League of Women Voters**, describes the extensive use being made of the radio by the state and local leagues. . . . Because of their special interest in civic service, emphasis has been placed on the Ramspeck bill by the use of one-minute announcements, speeches, dramatic skits, and even foreign language programs, all urging people to write to their congressmen.

The **Seattle Municipal League** has a new director, Alfred J. Westburg. Glen B. Eastburn has resigned to become manager of the Department of Aviation of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce. . . . The League's *Municipal News* continues to carry regular membership reports, including a list of the names, addresses, and professions of new members.

Senator Carl A. Hatch of New Mexico was chief speaker at the annual meeting of the **Connecticut Merit System Association** in New Haven, December 3. . . . The motion picture of the **New York City Municipal Civil Service Commission**, "Merit System Advancing," was shown, and New York City Civil Service Commissioner Wallace S. Sayre spoke.

Defense Papers is the title of a new publication of the **American Association for Adult Education**. This is to be a monthly and will be devoted to problems of national defense. It will also contain a bibliography of pamphlets and books on the subject,

as well as a list of radio programs and films dealing with defense.

R. M. W.

Newark Union Expects Victory in May¹

The proposed Newark manager plan was defeated February 1940. The Citizens Union polled 32,000 votes; the City Hall 52,000.

In 1938 the Citizens Union, patterned after the New York Citizens Union, served notice upon Newark, by an eight-line announcement in a local newspaper, of its intention to oppose political machines and current political ethics. Few people read the item.

Unspoiled citizens were sought for this missionary job. To canvass without hire or a promised job—to show how local government is conducted and who does the conducting—became the obsession of thirty men and women. Soon, several hundred crusaders were possessed of this idea.

Schools for instruction in city government and public speaking were held in churches. Our classes were filled.

Precincts Organized

Then, the Union organized Newark precincts. Within two years workers, schooled in election law, served on each block. They told this story to their neighbors:

1. That intelligent and moral leaders could be elected to public office without the mortgage of political favors;

2. That the city machine could be defeated by a citizens' organization;

3. That honest graft, crooked voting, and underworld support of political machines could be abolished.

Many believed in the sincerity and

ideals of our workers. Others were openly scornful and skeptical.

Election day was a political delight: physical violence, winking police, illegal voting, all the machine tricks were pulled—enough to make Boss Tweed exult. The Union had miscalculated. It had failed to protect its workers. It had trained its workers for election day services, not for prize-fights. Many of our workers, filled with theory but equally filled with fear, deserted the polls. Our pre-election plea for physical protection got nowhere. On Election Day our armaments were educational, certainly inadequate. We were brass-knuckled out of sight.

The Union men and women did a post-election canvass and discovered that thousands of illegal votes had been cast. This information was brought before the Grand Jury and there the information has languished, even to this date. Next, it was brought before the County Election Board, which subpoenaed and tried precinct election officers. The first twenty-six officers were found guilty and disbarred from future service.

Registration Lists Purged

Instantly, both parties clamored for election reform. A new commissioner of registration was appointed and a purge of registration lists instituted. This is what happened:

Seventy-six per cent of the voters of Newark were found; 24 per cent were not found. Those not found were listed in the following categories: in the army, illegal registration, vacant lot address, under age, vacant house, married and moved, voter dead, voter moved, in prison, not found, fraud suspicions, no such number, house demolished, in sanatorium, in CCC camps, insane. In short, 30,000 names were stricken from the voting lists. This was only the beginning.

¹Address delivered at the forty-sixth annual National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Springfield, Massachusetts, November 18, 1940.

Newark awoke. The independent voters realized that these illegal voting conditions had existed under the two-party system. They came to the conclusion that party attitude was not too sensitive. We all know that party conscience has never yet been refined to exquisite delicacy. The independent voter was shocked to find that otherwise moral men advocated illegal voting and regarded it as one of the luxuries of democracy, and that the party leaders just inherited a strange inattention to wholesale illegal voting organized by their lieutenants. At any rate, this partial election reform helped to clean up one of Newark's worst conditions.

Workers Initiated

Another good reason why Newark will survive this defeat is the experience of our workers. They have been baptized. They know who's who in the districts. Now they realize that they must adapt themselves to the prejudices and superstitions of a voter. Now our workers think in terms of district organization. They know that many people don't read the newspapers; that many people vote for individuals rather than principles; that they cannot raise the intelligence level of the voting population; that they must see these voters repeatedly in their homes, as the machine leaders do, in order to win their votes on election day.

It is the belief of the Citizens Union that, after two and a half years, new hope has been brought to Newark. Its political ethics have influenced many. Its vote of 32,000 has brought about an optimism. Fewer people in Newark now accept crookedness as the standard for positions of municipal trust. Fewer people have allowed themselves to be persuaded that cunning in politics and exploitation in office for financial gain represent the American standard.

Many people believe that the political machines are overrated and that the advantages won in this last fight—election reform, business support, aroused independent vote, Citizens Union increased membership, and experience gained at the polls—will bring about the defeat of the Newark City Hall machine next May.

EDWARD FENIAS

Citizens Union of Newark, N. J.

Columbus Demonstrates How to Raise Money

This year Columbus, Ohio, put over its most successful community fund drive. The goal of \$669,271 was exceeded by approximately \$6,000. The project was organized and engineered by non-professional but experienced home talent led by energetic Allen Gundersheimer, president of the Fashion Department Store, who was chairman. It is the largest campaign effort made in this part of the state during the year.

For the preceding five years groundwork for the campaign was laid by professional management, and local volunteers concentrated their efforts during a strenuous three-months drive. These were successful years, but a sizable amount of the money collected was paid to the outside agency.

This year volunteers were managed by experienced local men, many of the leaders having worked on the fund since its formation in war chest days. They worked on a twelve-months basis. Money was saved, and the whole town was made enthusiastically community fund conscious.

Economical home management met the demands of hard-headed business men, who saw in it not just a philanthropic "relief," but a business-like philanthropy to aid less fortunate people in eliminating the causes which *put* them on relief.

The campaign closed in October with

a victory dinner at which the general chairman for the following year was named. Thus next year's campaign is already started.

Mr. Claris Adams, president of the Ohio State Life Insurance Company, is the incoming chairman. In the early part of January he will appoint division chairmen—civic-minded men and women who fill executive positions in all professions and branches of Columbus industry. They in turn will choose men and women to work for them. This is the foundation of the "shirt sleeve" battalion which numbered 2,500 volunteer workers this year.

The campaign developed some fine leadership among women workers. In the final scoring of teams and leaders, the first three positions were held by women.

Success Recognized

Recognition was given to individuals who did especially good work in getting contributions. This was accomplished by the use of a score board on which names of the thirty-two division leaders were posted. Each report meeting saw these leaders credited with not how much money they raised, but what percentage of the quotas assigned to them they had raised.

All industrial, professional, public service, and national firms have a quota to make, and an honor roll certificate is issued to those reaching or exceeding the unit goal.

Columbus, state capitol and home of the fifth largest college in the United States, is a conservative town where ballyhoo tactics will not go over. The publicity committee is made up of local men who specialize in that branch of business—most of them are members of the Columbus Advertising Club. A full-time publicity secretary is in charge of year-round campaign publicity.

Merchants were more than willing to donate space in their advertisements

to campaign plugs. Many department stores generously gave entire windows for community fund displays, and one store did this in the midst of its October Day sales.

Publicity Efforts Successful

The manager of a theatre made enlargements of photographs used in advertising. Window display cards were used effectively to secure public interest. Street cars and buses displayed advertising cards free of charge. Twenty-four sheet posters were placed at no cost. Light poles in the business section held posters.

Space at Columbus' main intersection was given over to a spectacular sign; the overall dimensions were twenty-six by sixty feet, the inside panel, eleven by forty-eight feet. It was illuminated, and gave daily figure reports and the names of the three division leaders having the best reports for the day.

Another successful form of advertising was the use of ten radio transcriptions, purchased from the Los Angeles Community Fund at a cost of \$5.50 each—a total expenditure of fifty-five dollars. Each of these transcriptions, made by Hollywood movie stars, ran fifteen minutes. The three broadcasting stations in Columbus ran them without cost. At the end of each broadcast there was a fifteen-second local announcement.

The WOSU Players gave "Our Town" over a local broadcasting station; the play, a half-hour skit, stressed the spirit of neighborliness that is the community fund. WLW, a Cincinnati station, sent its educational director, Joseph Reiss, to Columbus to supervise a fifteen-minute program. This, by long line control, was recorded in Cincinnati and later that night sent out over the network. The entire sketch was written on the afternoon of the recording by the publicity department; and

the three parts in it were taken by local volunteer workers who rehearsed the script only once.

Organizations were invited to send in requests for speakers. These requests were filled by ambitious young men who, besides serving the fund, received experience in public speaking.

Visual interpretations, also sent out upon request, consisted of slides with phonographic recordings. The slides, purchased from the Pittsburgh Community Fund at a nominal fee, depicted how family and youth problems are taken care of by fund agencies.

Stories in Pictures

Long newspaper stories were discouraged. A staff photographer was on call at all times. He was paid a pre-arranged rate per picture. The photographs were true stories of community problems with explanatory captions underneath. The newspapers printed them daily during the two-weeks drive. Personalized stories were used in the rural and community weeklies.

Another important piece was the picture book. There were hundreds of pictures taken throughout the year, of which about thirty-five of the best were chosen. The theme idea was "Results Achieved." The punch headline appeal was used, and there was a complete absence of long tedious copy.

Groups of adults and high school students went on "Go and See" tours to discover for themselves where fund expenditures go.

A survey is now being prepared to show what forms of advertising drew the most interest. With this report to guide them, with the same indomitable spirit that drove the workers this year, next year's goal should be easily attained.

MARY D. MILLARD

Columbus, Ohio

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Nebraska Counties Progress Despite Defeats¹ *Budgeting, accounting, tax collecting improved*

ALTHOUGH the county manager plan has been defeated once more in Nebraska, this, time by the voters who went to the polls in the general election last November, a survey of current trends reveals there has been a progressive trend in the improvement of county government.²

Douglas County, which includes the city of Omaha and which adopted the manager plan under a law later declared unconstitutional, voted in favor of the proposed constitutional amendment, but the vote in the remainder of the state was sufficient to bring about its defeat.

Its failure was due in part to organized officialdom but probably in the main to an unfavorable public opinion on the manager plan as a result of the city manager debacle at Kansas City. For two years the press and radio had dinned into the minds of the people of Nebraska the disgraceful conditions in government prevailing in this neighboring city.

County government has improved rapidly along other channels, however, possibly as a result of interest stirred up by the manager campaigns. When the county manager act was held unconstitutional several years ago, action

¹Excerpts from address delivered before the forty-sixth annual National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Springfield, Massachusetts, November 18, 1940.

²See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, November 1940, p. 755.

was immediately begun for the enactment of a strict budget law for counties. Some counties were operating in a loose financial fashion. Supplies were not bought on a competitive basis, deficits were piling up, interest on registered warrants was mounting, excessive prices were being paid for supplies, and income and expenditures seldom balanced. The law requiring county boards to set up advance estimates of expenditures but not of income had become more or less of a farce.

Budget Control

The county budget act, effective January 1938, requires a detailed estimate for each office, department, fund, and activity of the county. It requires an estimate, item by item, not only of expenditures but also a detailed accounting of estimated income. Under the budget plan a levy is made for the total of the budget minus funds on hand, reasonably anticipated fees during the ensuing fiscal year, and back taxes on hand. Provision is made for filing the budget, public hearings, and punishment for violations. Also provision is made for emergency appropriations in event of flood, fire, epidemic, or other catastrophe.

The operation of this law has placed counties on a sound business basis, has improved the public service, and at the same time reduced the cost to the taxpayers. The saving in Douglas County alone is \$200,000 per year. The wisdom of the legislation is generally accepted by county officials and public alike. While the county manager act was optional and few counties would have adopted it, the budget act is mandatory on every county in the state.

The unconstitutionality of the county manager act may also be credited with other beneficial county legislation including recall of county officials and an annual inventory of all supplies and equipment of the county.

As a result of focusing attention on

county government, modern mechanical equipment has been installed in Douglas County. The county has changed from a system wherein all taxing records are annually reproduced in longhand to a modern mechanical system providing for reproduction of taxing lists, pre-writing of receipts, and periodical billing of all unpaid taxes. Records and billing are prepared at a rate of ninety items per minute.

Punch card equipment now is widely used in county offices. With this equipment tax extensions are mechanically done at one hundred per minute thus supplying speed and accuracy of results. The unit ledger type of tax record has been installed to show the complete cumulative tax liability of each parcel of property, including special assessment benefits, on a single page. Eventually each sheet will become a history of such property with respect to its valuation and tax burden.

By providing better service to the taxpayer through these methods, tax collections have been accelerated and delinquencies materially reduced.

Indications now are that other counties will undertake like improvements. Nebraska's second largest county, Lancaster, has already installed modern billing and accounting equipment in the treasurer's office. Similarly a steady and conservative improvement is being made in many other parts of the state. The public will for betterment obviously be achieving substantial victories in spite of the occasional reverses it has had to suffer.

W. L. PIERPOINT

Association of Omaha Taxpayers, Inc.

County Treasurers Organize in Pennsylvania

Because of difficulties arising from the business depression and because of prevailing inefficient practices in county finance, the County Treasurers' Association in Pennsylvania has been formed

in an effort to improve this phase of county administration. At a first meeting held recently the association decided that its functions should be to exchange ideas on the conduct of treasurers' offices and to sponsor legislation that would expedite work and reduce costs. The immediate program adopted by the association included legislative recognition of this association on a basis comparable to that of other organizations of county officials, the establishment of uniform tax collection systems, and the initiation of improved accounting practices in county offices.

Virginia County Rejects Manager Plan

The voters of Fairfax County, Virginia, rejected a manager charter submitted to them in the general election last November by a vote of 4,537 to 1,148. The plan, known as the county executive form, was recommended last summer by a special committee on county government reform and endorsed by a mass meeting that had been called to receive the committee's report.

Henrico County's Manager Serves National Defense Board

The Board of Supervisors of Henrico County, Virginia, has accepted the resignation of William F. Day, the county's manager since its adoption of the manager plan in 1934. Mr. Day has resigned to accept an appointment as field supervisor for the Division of State and Local Coöperation of the National Defense Advisory Committee.

The board issued a formal statement in which it said: "We . . . wish to raise our voices in praise and recognition of the services of Willard F. Day, who has so successfully established in Henrico County a modern, responsive, efficient, economical, and progressive administration of the county's government."

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Census Bureau Reports on 1937 Finances

*Year's state and local
figures now available*

WITH publication of *Financial Statistics for Cities of over 100,000 Population, 1937*, just released, the Division of State and Local Government of the Bureau of the Census brings to fruition one of the most important municipal research jobs undertaken in recent years. The result is a compilation whose scope, clarity, and usefulness have been tremendously enhanced.

As those familiar with this series of reports know, the Census Bureau published through 1931 an annual statistical compilation on all cities of over 30,000 population. By executive order of June 1933, however, publication was limited to cities of over 100,000, and at the same time funds available to the division of local statistics were so restricted that publication of reports for 1932 and later years was considerably delayed. Reports for the years through 1936 followed previous volumes, however, in form and content.

The 1937 report represents a change in presentation and method which has been developed since Mr. C. E. Rightor, whose work in the field of municipal finance and administration is well known to REVIEW readers, became chief statistician of the division in the fall of 1936. Working with the Special Advisory Committee for State and Local Government, a body composed of well qualified municipal finance administrators and researchers, and with the Municipal Finance Officers' Asso-

ciation, a new classification of accounts has been worked out.

Most important of the changes represented in the 1937 report is segregation of governmental and proprietary items in the revenue, expense, and debt summaries. In fact, where formerly data relating to municipal utilities and other proprietary enterprises were commingled with general or governmental data, in the present report the utility data are completely segregated and presented in a separate division devoted solely to this subject. In the important field of debt analysis alone, this change makes it possible for the first time to distinguish between tax-supported obligations of a given city and those obligations which are supported by utility revenues, an important distinction which had not been possible in previous reports.

Data Revised

The report also gains greatly in clarity and coherence by a revised presentation of data. The present report is in three parts: an introduction; a section on governmental revenues, expenses, and debt; and a section on utility or proprietary revenues, expenses, and debt. The explanatory textual material is shown adjacent to the tabulations to which it refers, rather than in a segregated section, and the result is a marked increase in convenience and readability.

Classification of accounts and many definitions of terms have been changed and revised at length in preparing for the new set-up, and only those who worked at the task will probably appreciate fully the extent of the job. Changes still remain to be worked out, of course, and forthcoming reports will undoubtedly show further progress in refining the data and method of its presentation. The new volume is, however, the most useful publication on city finances yet to come from the

Census Bureau, and it is as welcome for its promise of intelligent federal interest in the publication of usable municipal statistics as for the pertinent information which it makes readily available to researchers for the first time on a comprehensive scale.

Publication of the city volume was preceded a month or so by the 1937 report on *Financial Statistics of States*. Here, too, accounts have been reclassified, functional groupings changed to conform to the developments of recent years, and presentation improved by rearrangement of textual comment to precede the tables and by segregation of proprietary items.

Short Term Interest Rates

Under the title above the *Daily Bond Buyer* publishes in its December 20, 1940, issue, the paragraphs appearing below. While the comment is directed at the experience of local units in New York State, it can undoubtedly be duplicated throughout the country:

A study of interest rates paid by New York counties and cities discloses an amazing variation and raises the pertinent question: "Are local fiscal officials of many of the state's subdivisions securing the low rates to which they are entitled in the current money market?" It also prompts one to wonder whether the local bankers who make loans to their own communities have a poor opinion of their best credit or are taking advantage of it.

This study was made by the State Comptroller's office and the results, in summary form, are being brought to the attention of the fiscal officers of the cities and counties throughout the state.

For example, the study shows that fifty-two counties paid rates ranging from 5 per cent to 0.20 per cent and that the lowest rates were on loans made by banks outside the borrowing community. In the case of cities, the spread between the highest and lowest rates was even greater and here also loans negotiated with

outside, or foreign, banks were at markedly lower rates than when arranged locally.

The State Comptroller has disclosed a situation here which would appear to warrant further investigation.

California Tackles Tax-Deeded Land Problem

California is preparing to set up a new system of dealing with the problem of tax-deeded lands. During the past six years the state has collected \$370,283 in tax delinquent land taken over and has returned property valued at \$7,500,000 to the tax rolls.

Under a law which takes effect early in 1941, reports the National Association of State Auditors, Comptrollers, and Treasurers, rentals of tax-deeded property will be used to help cities and counties return such property to the tax rolls. Such rentals, according to the California State Controller, have been paying the cost of administering the 3,000,000 acres of farm and ranch land and the 150,000 city lots deeded to the state for nonpayment of taxes, and in addition have contributed materially to the state treasury.

Tax-deeded lands, under the new system, will be classified into three groups: those suitable for sale to private owners, those suitable for public use such as potential park or playground areas, and waste lands which cannot produce enough revenue to be self-supporting. The original owner of such property, under the new plan, will be permitted to bid in the tax sale, even if he has failed to redeem the property. This permission is not now given him.

Before 1925 few lands were deeded to the state for nonpayment of taxes. The largest number in any one year was in 1932, when there were 325,000 sales to the state. In some counties the assessed value of property owned

by the state became as much as 30 per cent of the total assessed value.

Tax Policy League Moves to Philadelphia

The Tax Policy League, which recently affiliated with the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce of the University of Pennsylvania, has moved from New York City to its new Philadelphia office at 135 South 36th Street. The league will henceforth be known as the Tax Institute. Transfer to the Wharton School has been made under a grant from the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation.

The institute will continue to carry on the program developed by the league. Principal features of this program are: (1) preparation of an annual compilation of tax collection findings, based on data furnished by federal, state, and local officials; (2) publication of a monthly information bulletin, each issue related to one particular tax topic and containing notes on new tax legislation and publications; (3) publication of a semi-monthly information sheet; (4) organization of a national symposium once a year on some tax problem of current importance; and (5) maintenance of an information service for the purpose of answering queries of both members and non-members.

Increasing emphasis in the future will be paid to the more popular type of service, designed to interest and inform the layman on tax matters.

Dr. Mabel L. Walker, who has served as executive secretary of the league since its organization in 1932, will continue as director of the Tax Institute.

Kentucky County Debt Administration

Under the county debt act of 1938 the Kentucky Commissioner of Revenue, ex officio state-local finance officer, has de-

veloped a plan for assisting counties with certain debt problems as summarized in the *First Report of the State Local Finance Officer* for the period ended June 30, 1940.

This report, which will soon be made available for general circulation, gives the Governor and the members of the county debt commission a full though brief statement of county debt administration developments. It contains a succinct summary of the dozen financing and refinancing plans handled by the department, of the procedures which have been adopted, of the impediments and problems which have been encountered, and of the attitude which has characterized the administration. It is emphasized, for instance, that eleven of the twelve funding or refunding plans submitted have been voluntarily brought before the local finance officer (i.e., only one plan involved subject matter which is *required* by law to be handled through the department).

Appended to the report is a detailed, audited statement of the operations of the centralized sinking fund accounts and of their status at the close of the year, June 30, 1940. It is perhaps significant that the last paragraph of the independent State Auditor's certificate reads as follows:

The records are well kept and the results indicate efficient supervision by the Local Finance Division of the Department of Revenue. It is our opinion that the present policies of the division are in accord with the provisions of the law and that this service could be extended profitably to other counties through their coöperation.

Court Decisions

Much to the same effect in respect of the influence on the general county debt situation is a decision of the Court of Appeals, *Fulton County Fiscal Court v. Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph*

Company (not yet reported) holding, among other things, that the constitutional 2 per cent debt limitation is to be interpreted as measured by all general credit obligations compared with the assessed valuation of property. Although Commissioner Stanley's opinion indicates that this view has generally prevailed in the past, he points out that in *Vaughn v. Corbin*, 217 Ky. 521, 289 S. W. 1104, the Court of Appeals under exceptional circumstances approved a bond issue to fund floating debt on the ground that such issues were excepted from the terms of the general limitation in section 158 of the state constitution. The case is expressly overruled.

Even more significant is the holding of the court that the last phrase of the words, "no county . . . shall be authorized or permitted to become indebted, in any manner or for any purpose, to an amount exceeding in any year the income and revenue provided for such year . . ." means the amount of money that can be reasonably anticipated and not the sum of the miscellaneous revenues and the *tax levy*. Although the court appears to regard this interpretation as consistent with *Shearin v. Ballard County*, 267 Ky. 737, 103 S. W. (2d) 292—as it is certainly consistent with common sense—the language of the *Shearin* case has never convinced all county officials. The present decision will be of particular assistance to the department of revenue in supervision of current budgetary administration; it will aid county finances generally in that an element of legal uncertainty is now eliminated.

County Credit Improved

These developments have all been conducive to the improvement of Kentucky county credit.

The same observation, however, cannot be applied to *Pulaski County et al. v. Ben Hur Life Association of Craw-*

fordsville, Indiana, et al., a case decided by the Court of Appeals, October 8, 1940. In the language of the vernacular, this case has led many owners of special highway bonds to become downright "jittery." Section 157a of the constitution provides that such bonds may be issued under special conditions and that the county may levy not more than twenty cents on the hundred to pay service charges.

In *Bird v. Asher*, 170 Ky. 726, 186 S. W. 663, and a number of other cases, the court held that, although a county may voluntarily contribute toward these charges from current general funds, that is, from levies additional to the twenty cents authorized by the constitutional amendment, the bondholders have no right to expect or demand such contributions. It was held that the Pulaski County road and bridge bonds, being limited to the twenty-cent levy, do not provide an *unconditional* promise to pay, and therefore lack an essential prerequisite to negotiability under the uniform negotiable instruments act. Thus, a holder in due course can have no better title than the original purchaser. The bonds obtained from the county by fraud are therefore a nullity no matter who has title.

It is understood that a petition for a rehearing in the Pulaski County case will be filed and that the grounds may be: (a) Even granting the validity of *Bird v. Asher*, the court erred in saying that the bonds were not negotiable; and (b) *Bird v. Asher* is, in point of fact, untenable and should be overruled. Whether either of these contentions will prove convincing remains to be seen. As to the first, it may be well to say that the court appears from recent decisions to be convinced that road and bridge bonds of this sort are not restricted to the specified statutory time limit. If, for example, bonds were not

retired during the term for which they were originally issued they would remain valid claims against the twenty-cent levy. Thus, in effect, the promise to pay is conditional only in being restricted to the special levy and not as to the time during which the levy must be imposed for the benefit of creditors. The court conceivably could hold that this is not such a condition as would prevent negotiability of such instruments. In the second place, it could take the originally logical, but now seriously disturbing, course of holding that the general credit of the county has been pledged notwithstanding the line of cases resting on *Bird v. Asher*.

JAMES W. MARTIN

Bureau of Business Research
University of Kentucky

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

P. R. Advances in South Australia

New York Testimonials Annual P. R. Meeting

THE long-continued educational work of the active proportionalists of South Australia has borne fruit in a favorable vote in the House of Assembly on a bill to provide P.R. for future elections of both houses of the provincial legislature instead of the present system of majority preferential voting.

The bill was introduced by E. J. Craigie, independent member for Flinders. Though opposed by the Premier, Hon. T. Playford, it carried on second reading on October 9 after a full debate by twenty votes to sixteen, being supported by the Labor opposition and enough other members to turn the

scales in its favor. The bill then went to committee for consideration of various amendments. If passed finally by the House of Assembly, it will go to the upper house, the Legislative Council, for its action.

Mr. Craigie's proposal would inaugurate the Hare system of P.R., the only type of proportional representation used extensively in English-speaking countries, and used for House of Assembly elections continuously since 1907 in the nearby province of Tasmania. It would use the province's six commonwealth House of Representatives districts as districts for the House of Assembly, electing six members from each and reducing the total membership from thirty-nine to thirty-six. For the Legislative Council it proposes three five-member districts and one three-member district, reducing the total membership from twenty to eighteen.

An amendment to decrease the size of the districts for the House of Assembly and the number of members per district, and to give the country districts representation out of proportion to their population, as at present, was defeated in committee.

New York Charter Commission Urged P. R.'s Retention

When P.R. was submitted to the voters of New York City in 1936 as one of two alternative methods of electing the city council, it was submitted without recommendation. The charter revision commission simply presented the alternatives on equal terms and left the choice to the voters.

This fall, when P.R. was under attack, six of the nine members of the commission issued a public statement urging its retention. The statement was signed by Thomas D. Thacher, chairman of the charter commission and of the Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee which

led the successful defense, former solicitor general of the United States; S. John Block, well known attorney, prominent in the American Labor party; Mrs. Genevieve B. Earle, twice elected to the city council under P.R. as an independent and now its minority leader; Charles E. Hughes, Jr., former solicitor general of the United States; Joseph D. McGoldrick, the present comptroller of New York City; and Charles G. Meyer, realtor. The statement follows:

"After watching proportional representation in action during two elections, and seeing the way in which it has justified the claims of its careful advocates, we earnestly urge the voters of New York to reject overwhelmingly the attempt of professional politicians to repeal it this fall.

"When we submitted the question of adopting proportional representation four years ago, some of us were frankly doubtful about it, and took no part in the campaign on its behalf. The results of its use have removed those doubts, and we now unhesitatingly advocate its retention.

"Proportional representation reapportioned the seats in the city council so that each borough has its fair voice in city government for the first time in many years.

"It gave representation to minority parties and to the better elements within parties which had been deprived of a voice theretofore by the machinery of the organizations.

"It created for the first time in many years an intelligent opposition in the city council, which forced the majority to a degree of activity unprecedented in modern times, and which, although it could not control the council's actions, did serve as a brake upon the majority.

"The proposal to re-establish the district system by which borough representation would be frozen for years to come, to the detriment of the growing boroughs,

should be rejected by the voters of those boroughs which suffered too long from a similar discrimination prior to the adoption of proportional representation.

"The proposal to revert to a district system by which the Democrats would probably control thirty-two of the thirty-three seats all the time, and all of the seats part of the time, should be rejected by every voter who believes in government with an effective minority to prevent excesses by the majority rather than a one-party dictatorship.

"The proposal to turn back complete control of the Democratic membership to the party machines, taking away from the rank and file of the party its hard-earned privilege of representation in city government, should cause the majority of Democratic voters to reject this amendment. The proposal to confine representation to the Democratic nominees should cause all others to reject it.

"We urge every good citizen to vote NO on the proposition on the top line of the voting machine calling for the repeal of proportional representation."

A Labor Defense of P.R.

The following letter was sent to the *New York Times* on October 29, 1940—shortly before P.R. was upheld by the voters of New York City by 782,768 votes to 565,879—by Andrew R. Armstrong, American Labor party councilman and minority leader in the first New York City P.R. council and former president of a large local printers' union (A. F. of L.):

"May I urge the readers of the *New York Times* to vote an emphatic 'NO' on the referendum to be presented at the general election on November 5 for the abolition of the system of proportional representation in the election of city councilmen.

"At this time in particular, when democratic institutions are under severe attack throughout the world, it is of

the utmost importance for us to maintain and strengthen all the democratic devices which we have made a part of our governmental machinery. Proportional representation is such a truly democratic device. Adopted by a large majority of those voting on the proposal in the November elections of 1936, and successfully defended by the voters again in 1938, this system has made possible a fair and democratic representation, for the first time in the history of our municipal legislature, of the various groupings in the community.

"Under the former system of election by aldermanic districts, the Board of Aldermen represented only one political machine. When the aldermanic ward system was in effect, the Democratic organization's percentage of representation in the Board of Aldermen far exceeded its aldermanic vote, and the minority's percentage of representation was far less than their percentage of the aldermanic vote. Thus in 1931, the minority, although having 35 per cent of the vote, elected only 2 per cent of the aldermen; in 1933, having 49 per cent of the vote, the minority elected only 25 per cent of the aldermen; and in 1935, having 33 per cent of the vote, the minority elected only 5 per cent of the aldermen.

"Proportional representation completely changed this unfair situation. In the first council elected in 1937, the Democratic machine candidates secured over 55 per cent of the final votes and actually received approximately 57 per cent of the seats, fourteen out of twenty-six.¹ In 1939 again the results indicated the essential fairness of the P.R. system. The Democrats received about 60 per cent of the final votes

¹This statement counts as a Democratic organization candidate one councilman who had the party's official designation but who was actually not supported by the organization at the time of his election.—Editor.

cast for the total number of successful candidates, and obtained two-thirds of the council seats; while minority groups such as the American Labor party, the Republican party, the Fusion party, and independent Democrats, obtained about 40 per cent of the final votes and elected one-third of the councilmen, seven out of twenty-one.

"In addition, the system of proportional representation provides automatically for a fair system of reapportioning councilmen among the boroughs. It has induced many outstanding men and women to run for the Council. The Council has proved a far better forum than was the old Board of Aldermen for the consideration of important local laws on pensions, housing, public utilities, consumer and labor protection, transit, relief, taxation, etc.

"If P.R. were discarded and New York City reverted to plurality elections in state senatorial districts for the election of councilmen, it would constitute a tragic step backwards from the standpoint of fair city-wide minority representation. It would probably result in the election of thirty-two Democrats out of a possible thirty-three-seat membership. . . . This attempt to kill one of the most efficient instruments thus far devised for making the City Council a genuinely representative and democratic legislative body must be defeated.

"Aside from the municipal pattern of government, it is vital to emphasize that proportional representation is the decisive American answer to those oppressive and despotic systems of government abroad which crush any attempt at popular political expression."

P. R. League Holds Annual Meeting

The twentieth annual meeting of the Proportional Representation League,

Inc., now consolidated with the National Municipal League, was held at the Kimball Hotel, Springfield, Massachusetts, on November 19. As has been the custom in the past, the meeting was held in connection with the annual National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League.

Thomas Raeburn White, vice president of the P. R. League and chairman of the City Charter Committee of Philadelphia, presided.

At a short business session the League's present trustees were unanimously re-elected. They are Richard S. Childs, chairman of the Council of the National Municipal League; Paul H. Douglas, professor of economics at the University of Chicago and member of the Chicago City Council; C. A. Dykstra, Director of National Selective Service and President of the University of Wisconsin; A. R. Hatton, president of the P. R. League, recently retired as head of the government department at Northwestern University; C. G. Hoag, of Haverford, Pa., honorary secretary of the P.R. League; J. Henry Scattergood of Villa Nova, Pa., former assistant federal commissioner of Indian affairs; and Mr. White.

George H. Hallett, Jr., secretary of the league, presented a résumé of the progress of P. R. during the past year. At the close of his report the meeting voted to send warm greetings to the British P. R. Society, to whose continuing work in preparation for national and perhaps international elections at the close of the war he had referred.

Addresses were delivered by Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., of the *Queen's Work*, St. Louis, who spoke on "P.R. in Private Organizations"; Thomas H. Mahony, chairman of the Boston Citizens Committee for P.R., on "Boston Needs P. R."; George H. McCaffrey, research director of the New York Merchants' Association, who reported

on the victorious defense campaign in the New York City referendum this fall; and Charles J. Rohr, who reported on the campaigns for P. R. and the manager plan in Cambridge, Chicopee, North Adams, and Quincy, Massachusetts.

At the close of the addresses the session was adjourned to the afternoon, when those interested in technical matters discussed the P. R. rules drafted for the forthcoming revision of the National Municipal League *Model City Charter* by the special rules committee appointed by President Hatton in pursuance of a motion passed at the League's annual meeting the year before.

At the close of the meeting a motion was made by Chandler Johnson of Cambridge that the chairman appoint a committee to consider the present status of the P. R. movement and means to extend its effectiveness. At the mover's suggestion it was laid on the table for consideration at the meeting next year.

The evening previous a mass meeting, designed to serve as the opening of a two-year P. R.-manager campaign for the city of Springfield, was held in the municipal auditorium. Addresses were given by Mr. Dykstra, who was retiring after three years as president of the National Municipal League, and by Newbold Morris, president of the New York City Council, who spoke on P.R. in New York. A demonstration of P.R. with "living ballots" was given by a class of Mt. Holyoke girls under the direction of Dr. Victoria Schuck, using a plan of presentation prepared by Walter J. Millard.

YOUNG MEN IN ACTION

(Continued from Page 11)

one business leader recently stated, "It requires no clairvoyance to see that the next five years will in all likelihood be the most vitally im-

portant ones in the history of our nation. The things to be done during that period, the legislation to be adopted, the leadership to be developed, and the reaction and response of the American people to the events which lie ahead in the struggle between dictatorship and democracy, will irrevocably fashion the pattern of life to which we young men, our children, and our children's children will of necessity conform."

Democracy is meeting its greatest test and the young men of the nation are working for its preservation. The democratic form of government means rule by the majority, and we will never have sound, intelligent government until the majority are intelligent on public affairs and we have a full exercise of the voting franchise. These are dark days but they need not be sad days if we will manifest the same spirit of co-operation, fellowship, and unselfishness that has always been so characteristic of the young men in this country.

We have faith and confidence in the future of America. Democracy has more active, vigilant defenders than at any time in recent history, and when radios are worn on the wrist and there are television screens in every parlor, and the dictators of the present are unpleasant memories of the past, the young men of the nation will still be working together in a friendly spirit, building, through their energy, enthusiasm, and ability, a greater America for this and coming generations.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Address delivered before forty-sixth annual National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Springfield, Massachusetts, November 18, 1940.

Books in Review

EDITED BY ELSIE S. PARKER

The Federal Financial System. By Daniel T. Selko. Washington, The Brookings Institution, 1940. xii, 606 pp. \$3.50.

The writing of this volume was undoubtedly inspired by the report of Brookings Institution made during 1936-37 for the Senate Select Committee to Investigate Executive Agencies of the Government (the so-called Byrd Committee from its chairman, Senator Harry F. Byrd). Dr. Selko of the Brookings research staff prepared the section of this report on the financial administration of the federal government. Later when it became apparent that the Brookings recommendations on fiscal organization and methods, particularly with respect to the General Accounting Office, were at variance with those of the President's Committee on Administrative Management, Dr. Selko wrote a monograph entitled *The Administration of Federal Finances* (published by the Brookings Institution in August 1937), in which he discussed the divergent recommendations and sought to justify the Brookings proposals.

The federal reorganization which was made in 1939 dealt only in piecemeal fashion with the fiscal structure. It followed the recommendations of the President's Committee with reference to the Budget Bureau, but did not disturb the *status quo* of the General Accounting Office. The latter was in line with the Brookings proposals. Dr. Selko then undertook to elaborate these proposals by adding considerable historical and descriptive materials, the result being the present volume.

The five major parts of this volume deal with the origin of the federal financial system, the budget system, the revenue system, the fiscal system

(i.e. treasury operations and management), and accounting and reporting procedures. The first part is mainly historical, being designed to present the background of the financial system.

The second part deals with the budget system as inaugurated in 1921 and is largely descriptive of the existing budgetary procedure of the federal government.

Suggested improvements are reserved mainly for a chapter on "The Executive Budget and Congressional Responsibility," in which the position is taken that "full responsibility for the financial policies of the national government" rests upon Congress. Dr. Selko largely ignores the writings on the subject by such men as F. A. Cleveland and W. F. Willoughby, and proposes to implement the legislative processes so that Congress can fashion the national budget.

The part dealing with the revenue system is largely descriptive of the collecting agencies and their administrative procedures. In a chapter on "Politics in Control of Revenue Administration," the author recommends that the principal revenue-collecting agencies (i.e. customs and internal revenue) be removed from the Treasury Department and placed under control of bipartisan commissions. He holds that this change would eliminate partisan political influences from the revenue administration. It would leave the Treasury Department with only the receipt, custody, and disbursement of public moneys, functions which are discussed in the fourth part of the book. The functions of a glorified and expanded General Accounting Office are set forth in the fifth part of the book, following two chapters of preliminary historical matter.

Dr. Selko has made out a grand case for the General Accounting Office, better than it has been able to do for itself through practice and precept during the nineteen years of its existence. He has overlooked its weaknesses and failures in a fatherly fashion and has spoken simply of its accomplishments and aspirations. He has blandly ignored such devastating criticisms of the General Accounting Office and its work as those contained in Mansfield's recent book on *The Comptroller General*. It would seem in this instance that facts which do not readily harmonize with his theories get short shrift; that evidence, sometimes piled mountain high, is disregarded when it does not serve his purpose.

Dr. Selko's proposed improvements in the character and procedure of the General Accounting Office deal largely with incidental matters; they do not get at what would seem to be the heart of the problem. That this office is now an "agent of Congress," which appears to be the author's contention, is far from the fact. Since its creation its conduct indicates clearly that it is responsible neither to Congress nor to the Executive, but that it is more or less a law unto itself. Furthermore, the machinery for making the General Accounting Office responsible to Congress does not now exist, and Dr. Selko makes no suggestions for setting up such machinery. He asserts that he favors extended legislative control over the public purse, and yet he overlooks what is perhaps the most direct approach to its attainment.

A. E. BUCK

Institute of Public Administration

Municipal Public Relations. By Elton D. Woolpert. Chicago, International

City Managers' Association, 1940. v, 50 pp. paperbound.

A Checklist of Suggested Items for the Annual Municipal Report. Chicago, The International City Managers' Association, 1940. 18 pp. mimeo. Fifty cents.

In many American cities today democracy is being starved out. Citizens, theoretical basis of everything that government does, have at best the most fragmentary and inaccurate conception of what is being done with their money; at worst, they do not even realize it is their money that is being spent.

To provide some basis and organization for the increasing amount of consideration that forward-looking public administrators are giving to this problem of "public relations," Elton D. Woolpert has written an intelligent, thorough description of the municipal public relations field in so far as that field is already known to authorities. This pamphlet (which originally appeared as a series of articles in *Public Management*) is frankly deductive. There has been almost no practical experimentation on what is, or is not, good public relations practice. Hence Mr. Woolpert's exposition is in large part common sense and analytical thinking. But this limitation by no means destroys its usefulness.

For one thing, Mr. Woolpert puts neatly in their place publicity and reporting which are sometimes mistakenly considered to be the sum and substance of municipal public relations. Public relations is actually the sum total of those activities of the municipal government which in any way touch the citizen, the author reminds us. And he insists, also, that sheer efficiency of municipal services will go a long way toward providing good public relations without any special "public relations" program as such.

The pamphlet goes into such sectors of public relations as personnel practices,

employee contacts with citizens, the handling of inquiries and complaints, physical appearances, and general municipal procedures, winding up with municipal reporting and publicity. Apparently no stone of public relations has been left unturned. While this work is certainly not the last word on public relations, it is one of the first significant words.

The "Checklist" for the annual municipal report, which the ICMA issues as a supplement to its earlier *Specifications for the Annual Municipal Report*, is in the same vein of deductive reasoning as the Woolpert pamphlet. It is an itemization of the kinds of data which would appear to be useful in a municipal report. It is bound to be useful to municipal administrators intent on putting out as good a report as they can, in the face of the complete lack of experimental data on just what is a good report. Until such experimental data is forthcoming, this checklist is common-sense and practical.

M. R.

Yankee Reporter. By S. Burton Heath. New York City, Wilfred Funk, Inc., 1940. 391 pp. \$3.00.

Mr. Heath has a nose for corruption and a sixth sense of who's behind it. That combination makes *Yankee Reporter* the story of as good a prosecuting reporter as you or the Pulitzer prize committee can find.

And if his book contains a few extra personal pronouns, they can be forgiven a reporter who has put his newspaper in the midst of most of the battles for good government in the world's biggest city.

In the first chapter, "Horse and Buggy Youth," Mr. Heath divulges the origin of a conscience that distinguishes quite clearly between right and wrong—decency and indecency. It comes straight from the hills of Vermont to which the author would like to return when he winds up his chores in the city.

He once sold yard goods in a Vermont village store for six dollars a week. He edited the *Groton Times* for twelve dollars a week until he decided to enlist for the first world war.

The ex-soldier returned, tried a publishing venture of his own which failed. Then went to college and won both a wife and education. He liked college. His wife helped by doing secretarial work at the university and teaching cooking in night school, just as she helped later on in New York when Mr. Heath was out of a job in the depression depths.

Meanwhile the author found time for extra-curricular activities which began to teach him about politics. As a boy editor and publisher he had begun to show interest in how people are governed. And this interest expanded.

By the time he arrived in New York he was almost ready.

The scene changes. He is a New York newspaperman and when Mr. Heath begins to write about his crusades he ceases to be autobiographer and takes on his regular role of reporter.

You learn through interpretive narrative about the lick and a promise Governor Roosevelt gave some thorny facts in New York's public power issue.

You read how prosecuting reporter Heath helped prosecuting attorney Dewey to the top—and vice versa.

The scum of New York's political life parades across the pages and behind the bars one by one—Jimmy Hines, the Tammany big shot; Judge Martin Thomas Manton, the stuffed-shirt crook on one of the nation's highest benches; Lepke and Gurrah, the fur and prostitution racketeers; plus dozens of other great and near great crooks, with their hangers-on, hoodlums and satchel men.

The forces of reform are all here too, the Fusion campaign, La Guardia hitting with both fists on the way up, Dewey and the rest.

Partly it's an encouraging story of a

reporter's work and civic virtue triumphing over evil in the big city. And partly it's a discouraging story of crook after crook going up the river, always with many more to go. Always it's the story of a tireless and incredibly resourceful reporter turning a big city inside out, with the help of his friends. Mr. Heath is at various times detective, lawyer, accountant, psychologist, sociologist. He emphasizes that so many roles are possible only with the help of his friends.

Unfortunately he doesn't turn political scientist long enough to consider prospects for developing reliable channels of leadership that will prevent at least a portion of these travesties on democracy.

Perhaps he'll have more time to work that out when he gets back to Vermont on a plot looking down on Lake Champlain in a little house with a basement where he can do printing as it ought to be done. Where he can take pictures, play golf, and find out whether a newspaper, operated as he's always wanted to run one, will bankrupt itself.

Up to now he hasn't even had time to see the Statue of Liberty.

E. N. T.

The Plan E City Charter. Legal Requirements and Procedure—Summary of Other Standard City Charters. By Herman C. Loeffler. Boston, Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, 1940. 18 pp. mimeo.

Plan E Campaign Manual. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Committee For Plan E, 1940. 46 pp. mimeo.

Combined, these pamphlets form the finest aid available for citizens of any city who seek to change their form of local government to conform to the Model Charter of the National Municipal League. The first is an explanation of that charter as it is found on the statute books of Massachusetts (Plan E of optional forms of city govern-

ment). The second was designed for use in the 1940 campaign to secure Plan E for Cambridge. This reviewer has helped prepare a dozen such manuals and has read more than another dozen. These two, almost entirely the work of Herman Loeffler, are far ahead of all of them.

Teachers of civics owe it to their students to present patterns for creating informed intelligent citizen opinion drafted by citizens interested in the high and worthy purpose of raising the standards of local governments. Hereafter they are a "must" in the armamentarium of everyone concerned with planning a charter campaign.

W. J. M.

Additional Books and Pamphlets Received

Municipal Government

Municipal Coöperation in New York State. Albany, New York State Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials, 1940. 8 pp.

Municipal Government and Administration. A Manual and Syllabus. By Russell H. Ewing. Denver, Colorado, School of Commerce, Accounts and Finance, University of Denver, 1940. 128 pp. \$1.00.

Personnel

Personnel Programs for Smaller Cities. As exemplified by installations in various cities in Michigan. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1940. vi, 46 pp. 75 cents.

Public Employee Credit Unions. A review of organized coöperative credit among teachers and other government employees. By A. R. Rathert. Minneapolis, Minnesota State Federation of Teachers, 1940. 20 pp. 10 cents (reduction on quantity orders).

Training New York's Employees. Interim report to the Mayor's Council on Public Service Training. New York City, Bureau of Training, Municipal Civil Service Commission, 1940. vii, 51 pp., charts.

Politics

Political System. Democracy's First Line of Defense. Atlanta, Citizens' Fact Finding Movement of Georgia, 1940. 28 pp. 10 cents.

Public Health and Welfare

Advances in New York City's Health. Annual report of the Department of Health of the City of New York for 1939 with a review of developments from 1934-1939. New York City, Department of Health, 1940. 296 pp.

Pasadena Social Agencies Survey. By Edwin A. Cottrell. Pasadena, California, 1940. xli, 378 pp. (Apply to author.)

Public Welfare Survey. By Philip C. Ahern. Pittsfield, Massachusetts, Taxpayers' Association, 1940. 18 pp.

Refuse Collection

Factors Affecting the Cost of Refuse Collection. Interpretation of cost data—influence of extent and character of service—effect of dissimilar disposal methods, wage rates, physical and cultural aspects, and other conditions.

Refuse Collection Equipment. Description of equipment used by cities—factors influencing selection: size, capacity, loading height, appearance, covers, speed, water-tightness, safety, materials of construction.

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CONTRIBUTORS IN REVIEW

(Continued from Page 38)

A PROFESSOR who was practical, **Herman B Wells** (*New Frontiers*) has interlaced his academic career in economic and business administration with sorties into the art of applying his learning to the every-day problem of government. It was the now president of Indiana University on whom the Governor called a few years ago to reorganize the state's banking system. Mr. Wells was then a professor of economics at the University. Besides holding various professorships, President Wells has been field secretary of the Indiana Bankers Association, secretary of the Study Commission for Indiana Financial Institutions, supervisor of the division of research and statistics of the Indiana State Department of Financial Institutions, and secretary of the State Commission for Financial Institutions.